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"THE financial experts of the Reparations Commission here, after picking to pieces to the smallest detail the whole economic section of the peace treaty, have reported that this part of the work of the peacemakers was absolutely unworkable and must be rewritten. In the language of one of them 'it is a crazy-quilt of international finance, disregarding some of the first principles of economics.'" This is not the feeling of the editor of a liberal weekly, nor can it be whistled away by saying that it emanates from a pro-German source. It comes from the Paris correspondent of the New York *Sun*. Yet Mr. Wilson still insists that his treaty must go through unchanged. Yes, say his friends, in order to save the League of Nations, which is the "hope of the world." But, at the very moment that Mr. Wilson is trying to save the League, the English Government is sabotaging it. Thus Lord Robert Cecil, in a speech which made a "powerful impression" upon the House, has threatened to break with Lloyd George if he does not play fair with the League. In reply Bonar Law made the extraordinary statement that the League had not been called upon to deal with the Polish aggression against Russia because it was the "view of the Government that the League should take action only when action could be effective." How could anyone suggest that the League could have interfered successfully in a matter of this kind, he asked? Of course, he hoped that later on the League could become effective, but "any attempt to involve it now with a conclusion of the recent war would keep neutral countries from joining." Was there ever more patent nonsense? The way to prevent war is to prevent war; the way to stop a war is to stop it; the way to build up a League is to make it function. No wonder Lord Robert Cecil doubts the sincerity of his Government.

FURTHER evidence of the way the League is deliberately being hamstrung by the Premiers came out of the San Remo Conference. The League of Nations addressed to the Conference a memorandum setting forth the reasons why the League was not in a position to accept a mandate for Armenia. In view of certain public criticisms which were made of what was assumed to be the attitude of the League in the matter, the League requested the Conference to consent to the publication of the memorandum. The request was refused, and the League acquiesced in the refusal. Thereupon the London *Times*, which does not stand in awe of the embattled Premiers, published the text of the memorandum. Nothing could have indicated better the positions of the League and of the Powers. The League, possessed of neither a treasury nor an army, is obviously unable to afford the luxury of a mandate even if a mandate were thrust upon it. On the other hand, it apparently is neither strong enough nor courageous enough to insist upon publishing to the world its own side of a controversy if the Powers object, and it is actually indebted to the *Times* for making its position known. Mr. Lloyd George, M. Millerand, and Signor Nitti, on their part, have frankly arrogated to themselves the control of European affairs, and incidentally those of the League of Nations. It is true, as Lord Robert Cecil declared the other day in another speech, that the League must be all or nothing; but so long as the League, now actually in operation as a political institution, is unable or unwilling to assume the leadership which alone will enable it to accomplish any good, the United States may well congratulate itself that its own adhesion to the covenant has not yet been given.

THE coincidence of the Polish reverses in the invasion of Russia and the opening of trade negotiations in England between the Soviet representatives and the British Government was too exact to permit belief in any connection between the two. No statesman could have arranged alternatives so neatly. But it is fair to ask, as the French are reporting to be asking, whether the British Government is not, as usual, prepared with two policies, one in each pocket, to be tried alternately or both at the same time. In the Winston Churchill pocket is war and the instigation of war against the Soviets. In the Lloyd George pocket is ready a denial of war intentions and a readiness for negotiation with Russia. Lloyd George hopes to barter peace and supplies for a free hand in the Near East. This would

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indeed be a good bargain could Britain gain thereby security in its possessions and interests in that part of the world, but such a bargain could hardly be considered a diplomatic triumph. Months ago Karl Radek, in his usual flamboyant style, threatened that if the Allies delayed peace too long Russia would set the Near and the Far East on fire. A spark is already alight in Persia, where the Bolsheviki have taken Enzeli and captured Denikin's fleet, and Great Britain may well heed Radek's challenge while there is still a chance to make a deal. With British labor delegates in Moscow and Bolshevist delegates in London and unofficial bargaining going on all along the border; with the Poles retreating, and signs of peace appearing even in the Far East, there is more hope than appeared a week ago of an early settlement being reached regarding Russia.

THE murder of President Carranza is a blow to all friends of Mexico. His political supporters will mourn the loss of a strong leader and a patriot; his opponents will have to live down and explain away the suspicions of the world, and will find the task of winning favor for their revolution made measurably harder by this wanton act. Doubtless the protestations of General Obregon and his supporters are sincere; they did not intend to mar their revolution by violence. They should now seek by their every act to prove that their patriotism is no less than that of the man who died in opposing them. If any good can come out of evil, we may hope, as Carranza would have hoped, that his death may be the means of shutting off the cry for intervention which has centered around his personality and his policies.

PUBLIC ownership without democratic management is a doleful method of industrial control from the point of view of the postal employee. It imposes upon him first the sanctity of a public service which he feels bound to perform, and second the infinite delays of Congressional action. His right to strike is thus curtailed while his power to better himself by other means is lost in a maze of departmental, commission, and Congressional complications. Yet no class of labor needs help as much as these servants of the state. Employed in exacting work of much responsibility, they are paid so little that it entails a sacrifice almost as great, we should suppose, as becoming a Cabinet official to accept a position in the postal service. The New York branches of the organizations representing letter carriers, supervisory employees, post office clerks, and post office laborers have issued an interesting comparison between their wages and Government cost of living estimates. Those estimates give $2,015.66 as the minimum necessary to support a family of five "of extreme thrift, of high intelligence, great industry in shopping, good fortune in purchasing at lowest prices, and in which the wife is able to do a maximum amount of home work." The wage paid to clerks and carriers upon starting employment is $23.07 a week; the highest "automatic grade" pays $31.73. To reach this ultimate munificence commonly takes as long as ten years, never less than four. If figures actually proved anything in human terms, most of our postmen and their families would long since be dead. Postal employees are resigning by the hundreds, thus contributing, though with every personal justification, to the collapse of our postal system. Fourteen months ago a Congressional Joint Commission on Postal Salaries was created to arrange for more equitable wage scales. So far the Commission has made no report to Congress and has introduced no bill, although the session is almost over and the postal system of the country has much deteriorated.

UNSTINTED praise is due to Governor Smith of New York for his veto of all six of the Lusk and so-called anti-sedition bills. These bills, following the denial of seats in the Assembly to the duly elected Socialists, mark, it is to be hoped, the high tide of a period of hysteria that future historians will find difficult to rationalize, the guilt for which both our chief political parties must share alike. For while the party of Lincoln brought forth Messrs. Sweet and Lusk, the political descendants of Jefferson are equally liable for Palmer and Burleson. In vetoing also the bill to repeal daylight saving in New York State Governor Smith flouted all political precedents in refusing to be pitch-forked by the "farmer vote," and established the interesting credo that the merely business interests of one group are less important than the general welfare of another.

THE Illinois Republican convention did not develop the stand-up fight between Mayor Thompson of Chicago and Governor Lowden which had been expected. The issue was to have been over the platform adopted by the Cook County Republican convention on April 26, but the Governor won by having consideration of the platform deferred until the autumn session, on the ground that as a possible candidate for President he should not be handicapped by having any platform in advance of the national convention. It would have been interesting indeed to have seen the result had there been a fight to a finish over the Thompson platform because that is a most unusual document. It advocates, for instance, that Congress should conscript all American excess war profits beginning with our entrance into the world war for the purpose of paying our national debt and should seize all gifts or inheritances "by any individual, firm, or corporation in excess of one million dollars." It is hostile to all foreign alliances, is against the League of Nations with or without reservations. The platform also opposed compulsory military service and urged the reduction of representation in Congress and in the Electoral College of all States which deny the right of suffrage to the colored voters. Finally, it demanded the repeal of all war-time legislation, the immediate withdrawal from Germany of all American troops, and the preservation of the right of free speech, free press, and peaceful assembly.

THE project for a bonus to soldiers had reached, at the beginning of this week, a stage where it was not a question merely of robbing Peter to pay Paul but of robbing a large percentage of the Pauls also. Originally the scheme was unjust to everyone in the country who was not mobilized in the European War. As finally drawn for presentation to the House of Representatives, it became unjust to a large percentage of the soldiers, also, in that it provided for more money for those who were sent overseas than those who were not. There is not a scintilla of justification for such distinction, since not one man in a thousand had any control whatever over his movements. The principle is just as snobbish and unfair as that which produced the gold stripe for foreign and the silver stripe for home service and made wearers of the latter virtually second-class soldiers. Fortunately, there is great opposi-

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tion among former soldiers to the whole business of cheapening their services by making what they did an excuse for putting their hands into the pocket-books of their fellow-citizens. This opposition, together with a dawning realization in Washington that the financial burden of a bonus might make it a political Jonah, gave hope, at the beginning of the week, that the scheme might be thrown overboard.

THE House of Representatives is to be congratulated on its refusal to enact into permanent legislation the control over passports now exercised by the Department of State. Nothing in the career of the Wilson Administration has been carried on with more glaring partisanship and favoritism than the issuance of passports; and this was true even before the entrance of the United States into the World War gave justification for a certain control over the movements of persons into and out of this country. No other neutral country, in the days when America was still a neutral, so restricted and harassed its citizens in their wish to travel; and at the same time that many persons without influential connections, but with excellent reasons for desiring to go to Europe, were not allowed to do so, France was full of American society women who purported to be doing "war work." A few weeks after the date when America entered the war, the Department of State showed its hand by refusing passports to the Socialist delegates to the congress at Stockholm, and, influenced by this action, the French and British Governments, which had previously taken a more liberal attitude, began similarly to refuse to persons whose opinions they disliked, permission to cross in either direction the national frontiers.

SUBSTANTIAL arrows of acrimony continue to fly back and forth between the Rev. Percy Stickney Grant and Bishop Burch, and the bystanders have all by this time had a chance to learn that the good Bishop is no less reactionary than Dr. Manning, who came near being Bishop of New York, and that Dr. Grant is no less frank than he has always been. Though muzzled by his Bishop, he yet speaks, and unmistakably. In the light of certain facts about the Episcopal Church in America which Dr. Grant himself has set forth, the contest grows more and more significant. The Church, he says, at the time when independence from Great Britain was the great issue, stood generally for continued dependence or was silent; at the time when slavery was the great issue, the Church sided generally with the slave party or was silent; and now that the strife between the rights of men and the rights of property is the great issue, the Church either is silent or keeps its heart where its treasure is. Dr. Grant is not silent and he believes that the true treasure of the Church lies in a territory somewhat overlooked as a rule by bishops—in the region of simple justice and Christian charity and human brotherhood. To be loyal to that different vision must Dr. Grant follow the Rev. John Haynes Holmes out of the Church? One of the most notable things about Dr. Grant has been his continued adherence to his Church. He has been a living, though often persecuted, example of the belief that institutions may be perfected from within. If it is a wonder that he can remain where he is so much thwarted, for the sake of the strength which comes to the hands of a single man from his membership in a great society, how much a wonder it is also if the learned Bishop does not realize how much strength comes to the greatest society from a man of Dr. Grant's courage.

HOUSING will belong to the prophets for another ten years, at least. The American Labor Party has tossed out some interesting thoughts through its Special Problems Committee. It assumes that housing is a public utility. It calls for cities to take by eminent domain outlying land in the line of probable housing development, so that the unearned increment will go to the community. A State housing bureau, with local boards, State credit, and priority rights in building are among the suggestions. The Committee recommends that the State and municipalities go into the business of building, owning, and renting houses, with powers over the production of building materials. A further proposal is for the organization of non-profit making corporations of workers, including the manual worker, architect, construction engineer, and superintendent of building construction. When the manual worker and the technician combine, all power will go to their union, because the credit-power of the community will have to put itself behind production. The gradual, partial, and painless elimination of the business man with his profits from the industry of house-building is what this program aims at. "The fundamental and ultimate need is to decentralize population through the creation of garden cities." If Stewart Browne were anything but the head of the United Real Estate Owners' Association of New York, he would be raided by a conscientious Government official because of his fertile thinking. In one of Mr. Browne's latest bulletins he advocates a Federal embargo on non-essential production, and says, "I doubt if there will be sufficient housing for the people in three years, without the Federal, State and Municipal Governments either lending on, or building and renting, new housing."

HARVARD University will sustain a serious loss in the coming departure of Harold J. Laski who has accepted a professorship in the University of London. Because he is a liberal and because he is outspoken, Professor Laski has been a storm center in Harvard, particularly because he espoused the cause of the Boston police during their strike. This led various indignant Harvard graduates to cut off their subscriptions to the endowment fund, but it also induced others to subscribe when it became apparent that the University would pay no attention to the attacks upon Mr. Laski and would uphold him in his right to express himself freely upon public questions. The University has recently made public a letter from Professor Hall of Harvard, which he sent with a $1,000 check for the endowment fund. In this letter Professor Hall rightly praises the University for standing by Mr. Laski, with whose views he differed radically and publicly. As for President Lowell, he has carried off the honors among all our college presidents for his insistence upon academic freedom of speech and thought. It is even reported that he wrote a letter to Mr. Laski during the height of the trouble in which he declared that if the governing bodies demanded Mr. Laski's resignation they would have to accept the president's as well. For this he deserves all honor. It is, we repeat, lamentable that so brilliant a man as Mr. Laski should be allowed to leave Harvard, particularly as even Mr. Lowell does not bring himself to renewing the call Harvard extended at the beginning of the war to the finest figure in the British University world—Bertrand Russell, who dared to go counter to popular beliefs in the position that he took in regard to the European conflict.

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"Let My People Go!"

EVERY American who read the appeal in behalf of the sick and starving of central and eastern Europe, made before the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church by Henry P. Davison, chairman of the board of governors of the League of Red Cross Societies, must have been profoundly moved by the recital. If America ignores this appeal—which we do not believe for a moment it will—then the country has indeed reached a state of callousness and egoism that will merit the contempt of history. But although every American who read Mr. Davison's words must have been impressed by them, only the more thoughtful observed that the same issues of the newspapers that carried them printed also, in some cases in parallel columns under equally large heads, details of a project (since repudiated as part of any Allied understanding) to induce the United States to accept German indemnity bonds at a discount, to make immediate payments to France in cash, and to constitute itself an international bailiff to collect the debt. This juxtaposition of the ideas on the one hand to relieve the people of suffering Europe and, on the other, to increase their distress and despair by putting them under impossible financial burdens was unintended but logical. The American people must pass on both issues, and it is imperative that they realize that they are antagonistic and yet, as things stand, tangled in one snarl. To separate the two ideas, to accept one and reject the other—and to insist that Europe do likewise—is an immediate and imperative obligation upon us.

It is impossible to ignore the insistence of Mr. Davison's plea when he says:

> I feel it is essential that the people of the United States realize that one of the most terrible tragedies in the history of the human race is being enacted within the broad belt of territory lying between the Baltic and the Black and Adriatic seas. This area includes the new Baltic States, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Ukraine, Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Montenegro, Albania, and Serbia. . . .
>
> According to reports of the American Red Cross and the Commissioner of the League of Red Cross Societies, made in a signed statement to the American Government, wholesale starvation is threatened in Poland this summer unless she can procure food supplies in large quantities. A telegram to the League of Red Cross Societies, March 20, stated that there are now approximately 250,000 cases of typhus in Poland and in the area occupied by Polish troops. . . . In the Ukraine, we were told, typhus and influenza have affected most of the population. In villages of two to three thousand half the people were ill at the same time and there was almost no medical care. . . .
>
> One hundred thousand school children in Vienna are reported as underfed and diseased because of food shortage and lack of fuel. At least 25,000 hospital beds have become useless owing to lack of medical supplies. Death stalks through the streets of Vienna and takes unhindered toll. The general death rate has risen 46 per cent since 1913 and the mortality for tuberculosis 250 per cent. Budapest, according to our information, is one vast city of misery and suffering. The number of deaths is double that of births. Of 160,000 children in the schools 100,000 are dependent on public charity. There are 150,000 workers idle.

Yet what use to struggle against famine and typhus in Poland when that nation—with the assent and aid of the Allies—is allowed to go on wasting its own and other people in an offensive war in the Ukraine? What use to talk of relieving Budapest when the international bankers are trying to screw an indemnity out of Hungary which will worse than nullify all assistance? What use to ask life for the Armenians when all over the Near East every race is set at every other's throat by an impossible Turkish treaty?

Yes, Mr. Davison, we agree with you that the victims of six years of folly and ruin and hate in Europe must be succored, and that this country is the one to lead in so staggering a task. We agree with you that America, having deliberately entered the war, cannot back out now without leaving her honor and usefulness behind. We agree with you that a Government appropriation (despite some objections) is the only way to approach the problem with the necessary adequacy and dispatch, and we indorse most heartily your demand for a Congressional appropriation of $500,000,000 to be administered by a board with large powers. We began urging some such action early last winter. But we ask that you and others demand a political policy on the part of this and European Governments that will save us from scattering our money and other resources to the four winds, without result. Let us strip the hypocrisy from such current phrases as "aiding France" and "making Germany pay for the war." There is no people for whom Americans have greater friendliness than the French, a feeling augmented tenfold by the fortitude and self-sacrifice of the latter during the war. But what French will an indemnity help—the humble city workers or those fine peasants of whom every American has a mental image from the paintings of Millet? Very little. An indemnity will go primarily to the holders of war bonds and other wealth who in France have been allowed to come through the war less scathed than in any other Allied country. And what Germans will pay this indemnity—the Kaiser and the rest of the autocratic caste that unchained the World War, or poor factory workers that were conscripted whether they liked it or not, women without a vote, child laborers too young to know, and generations yet unborn?

Yes, we are with Mr. Davison in his plea to save central and eastern Europe from progressive extinction, but we desire certain things clarified first:

We want Mr. Davison of the Red Cross to demand of Mr. Davison of J. P. Morgan and Company that he use his influence to end the impossible industrial situation that exists in Europe by reason of the insistence of the French Government on an unattainable indemnity from the Central Empires, and to advocate adequate taxation of wealth, both in France and Germany, as the only means of repairing the ravages of war in either.

We want Mr. Davison and others to declare that relief should not be afforded to any country which, like Poland, insanely continues to wage war; we do not want our money, given for relief, to release other money for war.

We want Mr. Davison and others to speak out against the Allied and Wilsonian policy of wasting lives and property in an effort to destroy the Soviet Republic instead of using its resources of food and raw material to restore Europe.

We want Mr. Davison and others to protest against Allied duplicity in stirring up strife all over the Near East in the interest of public and private schemes to plunder the Turkish Empire in the name of trade.

We want Mr. Davison and others to insist upon disarmament as the only alternative to bankruptcy.

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Yes, Mr. Davison, we pray that Americans will take up generously and valiantly the work of lessening Europe's suffering, but we think the effort is well-nigh futile until both here and abroad the people cast out the ruling powers that are far more profoundly interested in preserving the present social system, in dividing the spoils of war, and in exploiting all the backward peoples they can control by force than in themselves succoring humanity. How much longer are the Pharaohs of this day to be allowed to harden their hearts? For four years the world was visited with a plague of blood. Must there be also a plague of frogs and of lice and of flies and of murrain and of boils and of hail, and the death of all first-born, before our Pharaohs obey the cry: "Let My People Go"?

Our Unpurchasable Press

PHILADELPHIA newspapers, like New York and Skowhegan newspapers, have been filled with talk about profiteers, denunciation of profiteers, and even news stories of the prosecution of petty profiteers. The papers showed discontent with such small game; they demanded that the big fellows be prosecuted.

The two great department stores of Philadelphia, bitter rivals, are John Wanamaker's and Gimbel Brothers'. Wanamaker has made a horizontal price cut of 20 per cent, which may prove devotion to the public, and which may prove that Wanamaker's prices have been sufficient to net a more than very tidy profit. On May 10 a federal warrant was issued charging Gimbel Brothers with making "unjust and unreasonable rates and charges"—in short, with profiteering. Specifically, they were charged with selling bologna sausage, purchased in Lebanon, Pa., at twenty-one cents a pound, for sixty cents a pound, and cocoa and beans and meat loaf and tea at corresponding profits.

Now, Philadelphia has two afternoon and four morning papers. It might be thought that the issuance of a warrant charging one of the biggest stores in the city with illegal profiteering would be news with a capital N. The *Evening Ledger* at first thought it so. Its "Night Financial Extra" carried a half-column story under a large head: "Food Overcharge Laid to Gimbels—Government Alleges Unjust and Unreasonable Rate for Certain Necessities." But, curiously, the next edition omitted the story. Gimbels place six columns of advertising daily in the *Evening Ledger*. The *Bulletin* carried a scant fifth of a column in an inconspicuous position under a small head "Food Warrant Issued—Charge Store With Violating Lever Act—Gimbels Deny It." Gimbels carry six columns of advertising in the *Bulletin* too. By morning the story was almost completely forgotten. That fearless defender of the downtrodden people, the *North American*, had a page of Gimbel advertising, but no news of the charge of profiteering. The *Record* had seven columns, the *Public Ledger* and the *Inquirer* a half page each, of Gimbel advertising, but no news of the prosecution. Only the *Press* carried the story. And by a pair of curious coincidences, the *Press* was the only paper in Philadelphia in which Gimbels were not advertising, and the *Press* is owned by Mr. Rodman Wanamaker. Mischievous tongues suggest that a Wanamaker is not averse to prejudicing a Gimbel, though others say that the *Press* is honestly, albeit conservatively, independent. The Gimbels did not appear in court as expected the next morning; instead, the Assistant United States District Attorney went across the street to the Gimbel building—as he expressed it, "to save the Gimbel Brothers the humiliation of being compelled to come into the Federal Building to attend a public hearing before the United States Commissioner." This fact, too, escaped the attention of the Philadelphia papers.

Fair Price Commissioner Frank B. McClain was "mystified." "They told me to quit setting mouse traps and use bear traps," he says. "And I did." But—as he put it in a statement issued to, but ignored by, the Philadelphia press—"certain powerful public agencies of information, which for a long time have been loud in their protests against prices charged by vendors of foodstuffs and wearing apparel, which have heaped curses upon profiteers and have been persistent in their clamor that the Fair Price Commissioner tell the public exactly who these plunderers are, which have been insisting that food pirates, and price pirates generally, be indicted and put in jail, have suddenly become silent when the arm of the law has reached out to gather in some of their friends and interfere with the excessive profits of the said friends. Is it possible, I ask, that this grave-like muteness on the part of these supposed champions of the common people is because these excessive price-takers 'bring grist to their mill'?"

Commissioner McClain pauses for reply—and for breath. And the pages of the Philadelphia newspapers, in which Gimbels advertise "the sunshine of tempered costs" in their "price-proving grocery sale," are far from denying the possibility.

The Railroads and Their Workers

WE do not go so far as Congressman Sims, chairman of the House Interstate Commerce Committee in the last Congress, who declares that the railroads have "acknowledged their inability to function even in time of peace and while in receipt of a government subsidy." It is his diagnosis that the "patient is sick unto death"; he feels that private ownership and operation are now a demonstrated failure and that if the public is to "receive the service of transportation at just and reasonable rates it will have to be furnished by the Government without profit on investment and operation."

We feel that it is too early to take the position that the railroads have had their last chance and failed, though it is indubitable that the indications point that way. Their reply, of course, is that existing conditions are due solely to the Government and that they have not had time nor opportunity nor means to clear up the mess which the Government turned over to them. None the less, seventy-nine days after the railroads were restored to their owners, the railroad executives themselves asked the Interstate Commerce Commission practically to resume the powers exercised by the Government during the war, which fact recalls to us the statement made by one of the foremost bankers in America, when the railroads were turned back last March, that they would be returned to the Government for good in a surprisingly short time, because they would go down "in a welter of inefficiency and for lack of the ability to finance them privately."

Elsewhere in this issue of *The Nation* various phases of the existing railroad situation are treated in articles giving several points of view. But beyond all else remains the labor

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problem. The so-called "outlaw strike" is now in its seventh week and its ill effects are everywhere to be noted. New walkouts take place constantly. After a while they end and the men go back to work only to have trouble appear elsewhere.

The alarming congestion at key-points which has led the Interstate Commerce Commission to issue the orders set forth in the press, and caused the railroads to rush inland long trains of empty cars, is in largest measure due to the strike and to the fact that the men who have returned to their jobs have done so sullenly, with their discontent increased. Their needs are more pressing than ever, for the Bureau of Labor Statistics in Washington has officially announced that foodstuff prices between March 15 and April 15 showed the greatest increases of any 30-day period since April, 1915. Not a single Eastern railroad has reported that it is fully manned; despite the repeated prophecies of the railroad and Brotherhood officials, the strike refuses to end.

Everywhere labor is lagging on the job precisely as was the case after the steel and coal strikes. The new Railroad Board has not as yet reached any decisions, but it has stood upon such a rigid interpretation of its powers that it declined a hearing to a delegation of outlaw strikers. Needless to say, our Attorney General, after announcing that he was going to land in jail the leaders of the strikers, has accomplished nothing. To arrest the men he did seems entirely unjustifiable. If, therefore, the railroad situation as a whole waxes extremely alarming, the labor phase of it affords no encouragement to those who would take stock of the emergency.

For this, as *The Nation* has repeatedly set forth, the chief responsibility rests squarely with the Government, for its failure either to redeem its absurd promise to lower the cost of living, or to give the wage increases justly demanded nearly a year ago, and held in abeyance by the men in response to an appeal to their patriotism. The vicious circle continues: the railroads are asking a rate increase of from twenty-five to forty per cent, in order to pay more wages and earn their dividends, and the public continues to be mulcted and will shortly have to pay higher rates. This condition will continue until there is an entirely different public attitude toward the whole problem, until it is decided that railroad service must be furnished at cost and the element of profits eliminated as rapidly as possible. More than that, the industry must be reorganized so that the workers themselves shall have a share in the management along the lines of the modified Plumb plan. The forbidding of strikes by law will accomplish nothing, for workers have found another means to get at their employers—by decreasing their efficiency.

There must be placed upon them responsibility for part of the management and they must be made partners in the enterprise. We are certain that if they are the results will be a great deal better for the public than during the era when Wall Street controlled and operated and picked men like Mellen to run the railroads in place of practical operating officials. Certainly, no one can get any satisfaction out of the existing situation and only those who are particularly trustful can believe that the giving of higher wages will satisfy labor and end this phase of the crisis. The problem goes far deeper than that and the answer will not be denied. As things are going now we are only temporizing and getting nowhere.

The Flurry in Prices

THE sudden cutting of retail prices in the dry goods and allied trades in the East and Middle West has been as sensational as unexpected, and has naturally been the all-overshadowing topic of discussion. Is the long hoped-for relief coming at last? Is it coming about normally or abnormally? Will it last, or is it merely a passing flurry? Does the present movement presage a general fall in prices? Will deflation be as violent as was inflation? Does it raise up the specter of a grave financial crisis and of a long-drawn out industrial depression?

They are not easy to answer at this writing because the facts in the case are not yet clear. Silks and ready-to-wear clothing seem to be most affected. But remarkable cuts have been made in many other lines, especially by the large department stores. Scattering individual reports are coming in from wholesalers as to difficulties in securing new orders, especially for semi-luxuries and luxuries. Manufacturers report cancellations of orders and restriction of production. The chief price-cutters are great advertisers, and they have not allowed their acts to go unnoted by the general public. Now, the causes assigned for this break in prices are many. It is admittedly an effort to counteract a falling off in sales. It is asserted that the public voluntarily stopped buying. The overall movement and the chain letters urging three months of strict economy, together with some remarkable meetings of housewives' associations in the suburbs of the larger cities, are offered as evidence of concerted action to stop buying. Again, there is evidence that a liquidating movement has been forced by the bankers, who, under direction of the Federal Reserve Board, are tightening credit.

It is natural for people to believe that what goes up must come down, and many fail to see that the high prices have any visible means of support. Moreover, the anti-profiteering campaigns, some of which are even more mischievous than they have been farcical, together with the wiser preaching of "work and save," have created a strained and nervous watchfulness, a tense concentration of attention on prices, which bring a quick and irregular reaction to any change. This shows in the stock market, but most of all in general business. Since everybody is fearing or expecting a break in prices, buyers hesitate, refuse to buy, and even cancel orders on the slightest rumors. The psychological conditions are favorable for a crisis. The sheep are in the right state of hypnotic neurosis to follow the first bell-wether that jumps off the cliff. On the other hand, there is a shortage of essential products, stocks carried are small, work is plentiful, nowhere is there over-production in important lines, and credit is short but enough for sound enterprises. In short, we are busy but not over-prosperous. The wasters of war wealth are tiring of their extravagance and many spenders are beginning again to save. The sharp demand of 1919 for new clothing for returned soldiers, and the restocking of wardrobes, replacing of household linen, bedding, and the like, which drove certain prices up during the last six months, are over and new levels are in sight. Our monetary conditions have not materially altered, save for the better, during the past year. Goods from abroad are beginning to come. The most visible cloud on the horizon is the threat of a short harvest on account of labor conditions.

A very rough and uncertain comparison can be made to

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show the extent of the cutting. The Bureau of Labor index number for clothing stood at 350 in the early months of this year, 1913 being taken as 100. A cut of twenty per cent in the goods entering this index number would carry it back to 280, which, it so happens, is about where it stood a year ago. This leaves a long way yet to go before we come in sight of pre-war prices.

It should be borne in mind that clothing prices have advanced more than other prices. To forecast a general drop in all prices because one group shows weakness is to overlook the necessity for an adjustment of prices one against another. The recent rise in prices was not equal and uniform, although it was general. The outpouring of money and of credit in government war-spending was the common or general cause of inflation, which still prevails. But actual scarcity gave to some commodities an extra boost. Altogether, the lopping off of the higher individual prices does not mean a general mowing down of all. Because the appetite for silk is momentarily satiated and buying slows up while prices fall, it does not follow that milk is going to be cheap. The fact is that the spending power and inclination of the people are practically as great as during the war; what is happening is a shifting in direction.

General Strikes

THE recent general strikes in Germany and in Denmark were the first successful nation-wide strikes since the Russian Revolution of 1905, and the first, successful or unsuccessful, to win general approval in the United States. We have been accustomed to condemn such strikes as revolutionary intrusions of an economic weapon into political life. We instinctively protest against the use of economic force for political ends. It is new, and foreign to our habits of thought. Yet the results of its employment in Germany and in Denmark, where it succeeded, and more recently still in France, where it failed, compel thought. Not that general strikes are a post-war phenomenon in Europe. They were increasingly common just before the outbreak of the war. There were nation-wide strikes in Holland in 1905, in Sweden in 1909, in Belgium in 1913, in Italy in 1914. This long experience, like the recent tests, demonstrates that a general strike cannot be successful unless it commands popular approval, in which case it is hardly a menace; moreover, the purpose of the strike must be simple and single and clearly-defined. Complication of the issue confuses the strikers, causes discussion and dissension, and weakens or defeats the indispensable unity of action.

The great Dutch, Swedish, and Italian strikes all failed because they lacked one or the other of these essential conditions. Either their objects were vaguely defined, or they were agitators' strikes, or minority movements, the work of radical enthusiasts who had not really won the masses of workingmen to their way of thinking. The Belgian strike, apparently successful when it ended, failed because of the superior strategy of its opponents, who made apparent concessions which gradually faded into nothing. The Belgian movement sought universal manhood suffrage; the Swedish aimed at recognition of certain "union rights"; the Dutch was also an economic movement. The Italian alone had a revolutionary trend. Yet there has been a lot of prattling about the revolutionary character of the general strike, both among its advocates and among its opponents. French syndicalist philosophers spun a finely woven romance of the general laying down of tools as the prelude to the assumption of power by the working class, but they came to admit that they regarded this romance essentially as a myth, a kind of religious faith to give the workers courage for nearer goals. Present-day Bolshevist closet philosophers proclaim the repeated and enlarging strike as a means of discrediting the capitalist régime by exposing its weakness, but the method failed of its goal after a fairly thorough testing in Germany, for the simple reason that the workers tire of constant strikes which induct no new era and add nothing to the family larder. Hysterical "red"-hunters, of course, whether in France, Germany, England, or America, discover a revolutionary movement every time a group of section-hands drop their picks because the eggs are bad.

On occasion revolutionaries have attempted to utilize the general strike for their own ends, but, except in Russia in 1905, when the stoppage of industry forced the Czar to grant the October constitution, they have failed utterly. Attempts to transform industrial disputes into political revolts have so far uniformly collapsed. Local protests have often taken on a political cast, as in France at St. Etienne in 1918 and Toulouse in 1919, when the red flag fluttered for a few hours over the government buildings, but no national movement of the kind has succeeded. The Italian strike of 1914 became a revolutionary republican movement in the Romagna, but it failed because the people of other parts of Italy were not prepared to support such a movement.

The recent strikes lead to the same conclusions. The almost unanimous strike of the German workers put an end to the Kapp *coup d'état* although the available army had turned renegade and the Ebert Government had ignominiously fled. But when radical leaders attempted to prolong the strike and to convert it into a movement for other and extremer goals than the defeat of counter-revolution, they failed. The workers did not understand the new issue; they became confused, and drifted back to work. The French strike, aiming at a vaguely defined nationalization of mines and railways, seems to have collapsed. In Denmark the threat of industrial paralysis sufficed to force the King to abandon his annexationist Cabinet and to name a Ministry pledged to respect the plebiscite decisions. But when the radicals attempted to transform this movement into a republican revolution, they failed. They committed the fatal sin against the general strike: they confused the issue.

No general strike so far has justified hopes or fears that it might become an instrument for the inauguration of the dictatorship of a class-conscious minority of the proletariat. It has proved successful only as a method of defeating the sudden *coup d'état* of a powerful group, or the arbitrary action of unchecked rulers. It cannot easily be a minority movement. It may, indeed, be a means of drawing public attention to a grievance which the press has concealed, and with which the public, once its attention is called to the facts, is really in sympathy. Such might have been the projected strike in Pennsylvania last autumn, when the State Federation of Labor proposed to insist upon return to the constitutional rights of free speech and free assemblage. But such a movement presumes a certain initial unanimity of opinion, and able leadership. Fundamentally the general strike is a weapon against autocracy, whether royal, military, or bureaucratic-republican. In practice it seems to have become a bloodless safeguard of democracy.

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The Truth About Leonard Wood

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

IN the life of Leonard Wood a few men have played a great part. There was Henry W. Lawton, for instance, captain in the Fourth United States Cavalry. It was while Dr. Wood was attached to his troop as assistant surgeon that Lawton made his famous campaign against Geronimo in Arizona. For it all the officers of the troop were given medals of honor—until the world war the only military medal bestowed for gallantry by the United States. Leonard Wood received it, too, but a fellow officer of the troop, the present Lieut. Col. Harry C. Benson, retired, has repeatedly stated over his signature, once in the *Army and Navy Register* on July 3, 1919, that Leonard Wood received and retained his medal although he *never heard a hostile shot fired throughout the entire campaign.*

In no other army in the world could an officer have remained in the service forty-eight hours after such a charge without applying for a court of inquiry. Obviously, either Leonard Wood wrongfully obtained the most coveted military honor, or Lieut. Col. Benson tells falsehoods. Certainly one service ought not to contain them both. During the late war a board of retired officers was constituted to examine into cases in which officers were charged with improperly receiving the medal of honor. It was supposed that at last the truth or falsity of the Benson charge would be established, but the board failed to act.

In the complete transformation of Dr. Wood from an inconspicuous military surgeon into a general with a record of administrative reconstruction in Cuba four men figured largely: Theodore Roosevelt; the same Henry W. Lawton; a chain-gang convict under the alias of "E. G. Bellairs," and a retired officer of the army, James E. Runcie. Theodore Roosevelt picked Leonard Wood to be the regular army nurse of the Rough Riders because of their common tastes for strenuous outdoor pastimes and their close Washington friendship. When Leonard Wood was promoted to brigadier-general, Roosevelt succeeded to the command and brought the regiment back to Montauk Point. If Lieut. Col. Benson is correct the only hostile shots General Wood has ever heard were those at Las Guasimas on one day. Testifying before the Senate Military Committee on December 3, 1903, Major General James H. Wilson reported the following conversation with Theodore Roosevelt at Sagamore Hill:

> He began then in rather extravagant terms of praise of General Wood, whereupon I said to him, "Governor Roosevelt, I think you are perhaps mistaken about that. If I am correctly informed, General Wood never was under fire in his life until the Spanish War began, either in the Geronimo campaign or at any other time. In the Spanish War he was never in but one battle, and that at Las Guasimas, where, but for his rescue and support by the colored troops, he would have been badly handled." "Oh, yes," said Mr. Roosevelt, "he was at San Juan." To which I replied, "I beg your pardon, he was not. You know that he was in the rear looking for ammunition."
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> *"Yes," said he* [Roosevelt], *"but do not tell anybody."*

It is only fair to add that the President thereupon denied the conversation and elected General Wilson to the Ananias Club which was at that time so popular by Mr. Roosevelt's nominations, but General Wilson has never court-martialed for maligning the President. In its issue of July 12, 1919, the *Army and Navy Register*, a reputable Washington service publication, asked General Wood three questions: whether he was ever in a fight with armed men prior to Las Guasimas; where he was during the battle of Santiago and whether he had ever commanded troops in a fight since then. So far as recorded, General Wood has never answered the questions of the *Register*.

When the fighting at Santiago was over, Henry W. Lawton, who later fell in battle in the Philippines, then a major general who had fought his command admirably at Santiago, was made Governor of the evacuated city. He chose his former surgeon, Leonard Wood, as second in command. Now Lawton had one weakness, occasional intemperance, which in the eyes of all who knew him detracted little from what was otherwise a most estimable character. But somebody, a subordinate, or some one else, reported to the War Department that General Lawton had been seen on the streets of Santiago in an improper condition. General Lawton was recalled, General Wood's career as a Cuban administrator began, and there came to the front Bellairs, ex-convict, and Santiago correspondent of the Associated Press, as press agent for Leonard Wood. No more amazing story than the actual career of "Edgar G. Bellairs," forger, has ever been penned or put upon the stage. Of good family he early took to crime in England whence he soon drifted to other countries in his criminal career. I had reason to believe that he had served in the British army in Egypt and on the strength of his knowledge of military affairs I selected him in April, 1898, as a war-correspondent for the *Evening Post* as the result of an introduction from an editor now connected with *The Review*. For deceit and financial irregularities Bellairs was later dismissed, only to be employed by the Associated Press.

For Leonard Wood Bellairs conceived, as he himself assured me, the profoundest admiration. Up to that time the brilliant but unfortunate Valentine Baker, in whose army Bellairs claimed that he had served, had been his *beau idéal.* "I would lie down and let General Wood walk upon me," he declared. Never did Associated Press dispatches carry such fulsome praise as came out of Santiago from the pen of Bellairs. Melville E. Stone, the head of the Associated Press, has just published his belief that the "bias" was taken out of the dispatches in the New York office of the Associated Press (*Collier's Weekly*, April 3, 1920), but others will not altogether agree with that belief. There soon developed a movement to remove General Brooke, then Governor General of Cuba. At that time an article by Major J. E. Runcie appeared in the *North American Review* attacking General Brooke's administration of the island. It resulted in Brooke's retirement and General Wood's succession, which he primarily owed to the reputation created for him by Bellairs, coupled with his own energy and ambition. Thus, first Lawton and then Brooke disappeared from the path. To Havana came Bellairs almost in the *entourage* of the new Governor General and there was certainly no evidence of any hostility to Wood in Bellairs's dispatches. As Melville E. Stone discreetly puts it: "Once more there seemed to be insidious references in his [Bellairs's] service which caused remark. Then I received a letter from Florida suggesting vaguely that I look into Bellairs's record. I set out to do so,

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when the General appeared on the scene and vouched for the man's character in unmistakable terms. He assured us that Bellairs was the victim of malice and was wholly trustworthy. Finally, there was a transference of both men to the Philippines, and again apparent fulsome praise of his friend on the part of the correspondent was noted." Then and not till then was Bellairs investigated and removed. Meanwhile, he had represented the Associated Press with the American Boxer expedition to Peking, and his poisoned news was all that the great bulk of the American public received from China.

Yet the Bellairs who held such a position of trust and power had been in one prison after another; during all this time his picture and a full description of him appeared in Inspector Byrne's "Professional Criminals of America," page 220. He did not even take the trouble to grow a mustache or a beard. Other aliases were Cheriton, Cameron, and Elaine, his real name being Ballentine. He had swindled persons in every country of the globe, always playing the part of a society confidence man, and he was sentenced in Tampa, Florida, in 1891 for seven years.

When Bellairs left Manila he was given a farewell dinner at the Army and Navy Club. The handsome souvenir menu lies before me as I write. There were ten toasts, each celebrating Bellairs, the forger and chain-gang man; among the speakers were General Chaffee, General Jesse M. Lee, Commander Knapp of the Navy, Morgan Shuster, Mr. Fergusson of the Philippine Commission, and Martin Egan, now of J. P. Morgan & Co. Leonard Wood was not among the fifty-one guests—he had not yet arrived—but he should have been. For he owes more to Bellairs than to any other man he has ever met except Theodore Roosevelt. Towards the latter Wood was savage in 1900. "The Rough Riders" had appeared in which Roosevelt took all the credit for himself. General Wood told me that he had received letters "from Maine to California" asking him to denounce it. Should I print some things which General Wood said to me at that time about Roosevelt they would not be believed. He asked me if I had seen the Rough Riders at Montauk. I said that I had. He asked me what I thought of them. I told him frankly I had never seen anywhere so irregular and undisciplined a body of men. "That," he said, "began with the day Colonel Roosevelt took over my regiment." But the breach was easily healed later.

As for General Wood's long service in Cuba, it is being made today a basis for his appeal for the Republican nomination. Mr. Root and Theodore Roosevelt, when President, made the most extravagant statements about it, the latter declaring that it equaled the work of Lord Cromer in Egypt. The collapse of the succeeding Estrada Palma Republic, curiously enough, never checked that praise. As I studied what was done both in Cuba and in Egypt and visited both countries, it is not improper, perhaps, to quote here from a letter I wrote to President Theodore Roosevelt in July, 1903, protesting against the unearned praise bestowed upon Wood:

> It is certainly a fact that General Wood left Havana without the regard, and often without the respect, of the Americans and Cubans. Is it not curious that Spaniards were the only ones to lament his going? The distinctive feature of Cromer's Administration has been his constructive work which has trebled the national wealth. General Wood never did a single piece of constructive work that I have ever heard of. He carried on what had been begun by Brooke and Ludlow in their spirit, but what policy did he formulate, what agricultural improvement did he bring about? . . . Finally, I do not believe that Cromer was ever unfaithful to his superiors. *You yourself have told of General Wood's advice to you in connection with your testimony before the Embalmed Beef Commission.**
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> Now to answer your specific questions. General Wood said to me, speaking of the Italian Archbishop, Sbarreti, "I told him to buy off his Cuban rival with an office. That is the way to get on with these people." I replied, "General, do you think this policy pays in the long run?" "No," he replied, "I have only done it in a few cases." He then gave me a list of ten or more people whose influence he had purchased by offices or by outright gifts of money. . . . I afterwards tried repeatedly to find out if there was any principle, or public morality, behind his actions. His own lips convinced me that there was not.

When General Wood was nominated in 1903 to be Major General, there was a very vigorous fight against his confirmation on the ground of his record in Cuba. He was upheld by Mr. Root and Mr. Roosevelt. Anybody who is interested can peruse the mass of testimony taken at that time and anyone who does so with an open mind will find much therein to make him wonder. But politics and friendship triumphed and he was confirmed. It is, however, a fact that in Executive Document C, confidential, 58th Congress, second session, published January 18, 1907, there will be found 900 pages recording secret hearings held by the Committee on Military Affairs from November 19 to December 16, 1903. Herein will be found charges against General Wood, supported by testimony, witnesses, and documentary evidence, which, as the *Army and Navy Register* puts it, "embraced accusations of disloyalty to and conspiracy against his superior commander, abuses of authority, favoritism, improper acceptance of a valuable gift, broken faith, duplicity, and untruthfulness."

A final word about Bellairs. When he was recalled from the Philippines, he had just published a book attacking Governor General William H. Taft, whom he described as "an able lawyer but without the highest grade of executive ability"; as a "politician, not a diplomat." At the very end, there came out just what Bellairs was after: "The difference between Taft and Wood is that the former is a politician and a 'trimmer,' while the latter is a diplomat and a statesman, and it is to be hoped, in American interests, such a man as Leonard Wood will succeed Taft in the Philippines. . . . " He was, indeed, skilful in imposing upon many people, this ex-convict; for years after his exposure in America he was acting as a special correspondent of the London *Times*. Leonard Wood was at first innocently imposed upon like so many others. The curious fact is that there is testimony before the Senate Military Committee in 1903 that General Wood was, after a time, repeatedly warned as to the character of Bellairs, yet continued to defend him.

Contrary to Mr. Stone's statement cited above, General Wood did not go to the Philippines until 1903, nearly three years after Bellairs had joined General Chaffee. General Wood was Governor of Moro Province from July, 1903, until April, 1906, during which time the pacification of the islands took place with really Prussian thoroughness. I have an interesting photograph taken at the battle of Mount Dajo showing the bodies of *dead women and children* in the Moro stronghold killed by American soldiers of General Wood's command who stand by, rifles in hand. There is no doubt that General Wood is a very able soldier, in peace-time at least, since we do not know what he could

* Colonel Theodore Roosevelt and Brigadier-General Wood gave directly contradictory testimony as to the effect upon the soldiers of the embalmed beef.

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do in handling large bodies of troops under fire. President Taft once told me that Wood was by far the ablest and most active of the generals he had in the Philippines. Wood rose with the sun, was early in the saddle, and gave a great deal of personal attention to the drilling and handling of his troops, unlike the other regular army generals most of whom were about sixty years of age and could not rid themselves of the old army idea that the sole duties of a general were to sit at his desk year in and year out and sign official papers. General Wood was then about forty-five years of age and this alone gave him an advantage over all of the others. The troops greatly improved under his command. I must record, too, the fact that when I was in France last year the almost universal testimony was that the division which Leonard Wood trained at Fort Leavenworth was the best drilled and the best disciplined of all the troops that went to France. He is an excellent disciplinarian.

Why then was it that General Wood was not allowed to command troops in France? His friends give it out that it was due to the malignity and spite of President Wilson and Secretary Baker. As a matter of fact, it is an open secret that the responsibility is General Pershing's. General Pershing has testified that Secretary Baker and Mr. Wilson gave him the fullest and most generous support. One of the things, it is understood, that they let him do was to choose his own generals and they forced nobody upon him. I cannot believe that the Republican Party would nominate General Wood without ascertaining why General Pershing would not have him in France.

Two secretaries of war told me that General Wood was so guilty of insubordination that they could readily have court-martialed him, but that they did not wish to make a martyr of him. If his record could be published as it is in the secret files of the War Department, there would perhaps be found several official rebukes. But General Wood does not deny the insubordination; if reports are correct he glories in it. It is set forth in his behalf that if he had not been insubordinate the country would not have been prepared; that the Plattsburg camp would never have been held, and that he formed the private association which gave this training to so many of our officers of the A. E. F. If this statement is correct, General Wood will undoubtedly profit by it. But the fact remains that one of the tests of the true soldier is to set to his subordinates an example of obedience. It was not necessary to bring Theodore Roosevelt to Plattsburg to make a violent attack upon the Commander-in-Chief, Woodrow Wilson, in a speech to the officers and men. For this Secretary Garrison reprimanded General Wood.

That General Wood can inspire great enthusiasm is beyond question. When he was jumped into the regular army list of brigadier-generals from the rank of captain and assistant surgeon, there was the bitterest feeling throughout the army against him. He has completely overcome this feeling. Moreover, the West Pointers who serve under him or on his staff invariably become enthusiastic about him. His aides are most loyal in their devotion. More than that, a chief asset of General Wood is the Harvard enthusiasm for him. In Cambridge he has really inherited the prestige of Roosevelt, and it is no small asset to him to have Harvard men working for him throughout the country. He makes an excellent appearance before an audience of young men when he does not have to touch on any political subject. Of course, when he begins to talk politics, he is hopelessly out of his depth. His speeches in this campaign have bordered on the ridiculous; he outdoes all the other candidates with his generalities. Indeed, if the American sense of humor had survived the war, he would be in danger of being laughed out of court. Take, for instance, his recent statement that he was for reservations provided they really Americanized the treaty. What delightful pussyfooting! And so it has gone. He has paraded himself on the stump in soldiers' uniform contrary to the precedent of Grant, Hancock, Garfield, and others, but he has not had the courage to take a single strong position except against the Reds. He has even shuffled as to the size of the regular army we ought to have, saying 100,000 one day and 200,000 the next.

As for a program for social reorganization and economic readjustment, General Wood has none. He is grossly ignorant of what is going on in the world; he has no philosophy but the soldier's one of force and the rigid and violent upholding of authority—which is the last thing that is needed in the White House just now. We have had enough of autocracy and the domination of a ruthless man; the country needs a change. True, many extreme reformers dissent from this. They are hoping for General Wood's nomination and election, believing him such a reactionary and so utterly devoid of insight and statesmanship that he will rule by repression and be so unable to deal with such a situation as the railroad crisis of today that he will precipitate the hour of complete reorganization or revolution. They are afraid of a progressive like Johnson. There is, perhaps, something to be said for this viewpoint. But the United States ought not to have to pay the price. A reactionary government such as General Wood would give us, backed and supported as he is by some of the great moneyed interests, because they believe that he would down labor and teach it its place, would cost the country dear indeed. Even his backers would be disappointed in him, for while they would find him an industrious executive, they would also find that his brain was dull and that he lacked vision and background to steer the country well in the present crisis. An officer who traveled and served with General Wood for more than a year was asked the other day by a university professor what the General read as they wintered and summered together. "Why, the *Army and Navy Journal*," was the response. Undoubtedly, General Wood would learn quickly in the White House, but the times are too grave to turn that historic building into a primary educational institution.

Finally, General Wood ought not to be nominated because he has been brought up in the school of dogmatic military authority, the very opposite of the school of democratic government. He has accomplished things because all that he has had to do has been to issue an order and everybody who received it was compelled to obey. Part of the reason for the collapse of the Cuban Republic which General Wood set up was due to the fact that it was created by military men. In justice, it must be added that it was finally recreated by a military lawyer, Enoch H. Crowder, and has stood on its own feet ever since. General Wood's candidacy, such as it is, must rest upon his achievements since his regime in Cuba, which is being made the basis by his adherents of extravagant claims for his administrative ability. For about his work there still hangs the false glamour originally cast over it by "E. G. Bellairs," the confidence-man.

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Ireland: The One Solution

By HENRY W. NEVINSON

AS an Englishman I must apologize for saying any word about Ireland. I do not apologize to my own countrymen, for if there is one question that all Englishmen ought to lay to heart and seek to solve it is the Irish question. But I apologize to the Irish, for the long record of England's relation to them may well make them distrustful, as they are, of any interference from any Englishman or other foreigner, however sympathetic. "No Englishman," they say, "can possibly understand us, or have the right to criticize or advise. Complete separation is the only way." I do not observe that Irish people hesitate about understanding, criticizing, or advising the English, though the English are not an easy problem for foreigners either. But still I believe the objection to be real, and so I apologize.

I have followed Irish history very closely for thirty years, and always felt passionate sympathy with the national cause. I have been very often in the country, and have known most of the great Irish leaders and most of their friends and enemies in England. I know that, from the English point of view, the situation in Ireland is now more difficult and more dangerous than it has ever been within my memory. For the last forty years the great mass of the Irish people have always looked with hope, if not with confidence, to a strong body of Liberal opinion and leadership in England to obtain for them that measure of independence which was called Home Rule. Today they regard with indifference or distrust every English party alike, with perhaps a touch of extra contempt for the Liberal Party, if indeed it can be said still to exist. And they regard with indifference or contempt the very name of Home Rule. For them that chapter is closed forever. It was too full of prevarication, deceit, half-heartedness, and hope deferred. The Home Rule Act was passed. It was to come into effect directly after the war, if certain conditions were fulfilled. "We stood ready to fulfil the conditions," they say. "We voluntarily enrolled 170,000 Irishmen to fight for the cause of small nationalities, which you assured us was the object of the war. Where is that Home Rule now? You have brought in a wretched substitute, framed by our greatest enemies, headed by Lord Birkenhead to represent your Law as Lord Chancellor—Lord Birkenhead who, as 'Galloper Freddy' was openly acting under Carson only six years ago in stimulating Ulster to rebellion against your laws! What is the good of talking about Home Rule and your precious bill 'for the better government of Ireland'? Certainly, it could not be for a worse government, but as for your bill, we will follow Swift's advice and burn it, together with everything that comes from England except her coals and her people."

They will not burn the bill. They will take no notice of it. The lamentable history of the last ten years has entirely destroyed all belief in England's good faith and good intentions. It is a bitter thing for an English patriot like me to say, but who can wonder at the distrust? When at last, some ten years ago, the Liberals under Mr. Asquith plucked up heart to fulfil their pledges and bring in a Home Rule bill, the whole of the Unionist Party, hounded on by the Northcliffe press, incited Ulster to rebellion. In September, 1912, Carson's Covenant was signed, pledging the Ulster Protestants (rather less than half the population of the province) "to combine in using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland." The Ulster Volunteers were openly drilled for rebellion. They paraded arms and ambulances before Carson and F. E. Smith. They imported a large cargo of rifles from England, and nothing was done against them. When the Irish or Nationalist Volunteers drilled, and imported arms at Howth, British troops were sent against them and people were shot in the Dublin streets. When the war came, the Ulster Volunteers were allowed to form a separate division with their own emblems. The Irish Volunteers who offered divisions were not admitted as separate formations. Carson and F. E. Smith were appointed Law Officers of the Crown in the Coalition. After the Easter Week rising of despair, the leaders were executed in driblets—not in hot blood, but one or two for breakfast at intervals. Among the victims James Connolly—one of the finest characters that Ireland has ever produced, an Ulsterman and a Protestant, too—though severely wounded was dragged out in a chair to be shot. Then came the Convention. It was not elected. It consisted merely of nominees. Yet it would have succeeded in an agreement had not the Ulster Club in Belfast remained uncompromising and obdurate. Next, the attempt at the conscription of a nation that had been treated as Ireland had been. It failed, but over eighty of the patriot Sinn Fein leaders were deported and imprisoned without trial and without charge named. What wonder that at the election of December, 1918, Sinn Fein swept the country? Sinn Fein Members counted 73, the Irish Party (old Nationalists) 6, the Unionists 26. If ever there was a case of 'Self-determination' it was that. Your President made 'Self-determination' one of his essential Points. Mr. Lloyd George accepted the principle. Self-determination was decreed for Czecho-Slovaks, Jugo-Slavs, Azerbaijan Tartars, and other outlandish races of whom no civilized being had even heard before. All the world had heard of Ireland, but there was no self-determination for her.

Consider the present bill. Six counties, cut out of Ulster's nine, are to have a little parliament. The rest of Ireland is to have a little parliament. Each little parliament is to have equal powers. Each is to send twenty members to a shadowy and powerless council in Dublin. The Ulster twenty retain full right to render every proposal of the rest futile by their veto. Ireland is to send 42 members to Westminster (that does not matter, for, outside the scrap of Ulster, not a single member will go or even be elected). The two parliaments are to have little more function than a big county council has in England. England retains control of external trade, of navigation (merchant shipping), of wireless, cables, aeroplanes, coinage, and trade-marks. She controls the police for at least three years, and the post office and judges till the parliaments come to an agreement. She keeps in her own hand all the main sources of revenue—the income tax, the customs, and excise. To maintain the British army and navy, Ireland is to send £18,000,000 a year over to be spent in England. On an average that works out at a contribution of £18 a year from every

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family in Ireland. I do not know why Sir Auckland Geddes said his share in drawing up this scheme was "a labor of love," but it is no wonder that the Irish people will not even consider it. The funny thing will be that the part of Ireland which has taken an oath never, never to have Home Rule will be the only part to get it.

Still there are signs of hope. The English people, always so conservative, so slow to move or change, have now as a body come up to the line of the old Home Rule. They are genuinely anxious for a settlement. They see the demand always rising with refusal and delay, and terms that once would have been welcomed with joy are now despised. The English working-people must be told the absolute truth. For true settlement certain conditions are essential: a single and separate parliament in Ireland; complete financial control of all taxes and expenditures and trade; the withdrawal of the British army; and a clean sweep of Dublin Castle. Ulster might also demand the usual safeguards for religion and education and equal justice, such as Lord Midleton accepted for the Southern Unionists in the Convention. The main conditions are essential. My own belief is that the ultimate and triumphant settlement will come only when British statesmen have the good sense to go to Ireland with both hands open and to say: "Look here now, we are entirely honest; we want to do the right thing at last. Take the utmost you can ask. Take it as some compensation for centuries of wrong. Call yourself an Irish Dominion, or an Irish Republic, or what you like. Be free, be independent. Only be our friend, instead of being always an enemy upon our flank. Think it over for a year or two in perfect freedom, and then see if you would not prefer to join us as an ally or equal confederate. We know we are foreigners. We have different ideas, different history, and rather different temperaments. But still nearly all of you can speak our language, and those of us who go to Ireland and marry there have a long established habit of becoming more Irish than the Irish. Think it over, and give us an answer soon."

That, I am convinced, is the natural, high-hearted, and ultimate way of escape from a tragic situation that with every year involves my country in deeper shame.

Wanted—A National Railroad Program

By FREDERIC C. HOWE

EVEN the friends of government operation of the railroads have been fearful of Congressional ineptitude and political interference. They are apprehensive of bureaucratic methods of management. But a study of the provisions of the Cummins-Esch Bill, and especially of the debates that preceded the reference of the railway measures to conference committee indicates that these evils are not avoided by private operation. They are deeper seated. They lie in a lack of comprehension of the transportation problem as it relates to the nation as a whole, and possibly in the organization of political government itself.

Congress has had the railroad problem since 1888, when the Interstate Commerce Commission was created. For two years the Government has controlled the country's entire railroad machinery. Ample opportunity was afforded for a thorough understanding of the railroads and their relation to industrial, commercial, and social needs of the country. Mr. McAdoo was an efficient executive and a publicly-minded official. Mr. Hines is highly intelligent. He has shifted his point of view from that of a private railway executive to that of a public servant. He has been willing to cooperate with Congress in every possible way. There was every chance to work out a railway and transportation program that would have met the present and future needs of the country as fully as has the Federal Reserve Banking Act. Yet when it came to drafting the legislation now before Congress, the stores of experience that were available were neglected. No nation-wide study of engineering and commercial needs, no inquiry into the transportation systems of other countries has been made. What is offered us is not a transportation program but a lawyer's bill worked out in cooperation with bankers and security owners.

Suppose Congress were made up of engineers instead of lawyers. They certainly would not have neglected the opportunity for a real transportation measure. They would have seen the waste, the inadequacies, the confusion of the existing conditions and would have endeavored to correct them. Or had Congress been composed of manufacturers, shippers, farmers, and workers interested in a transportation system that would serve as an industrial and social agency, they would have brought forward something far different than the legalistic financial measure that is now before the country as the best makeshift Congress has to offer.

Our lawyer legislators have treated the question as though it were merely a railroad question with a lot of vested interests to be satisfied. They have assumed that the only persons to be considered were the security holders, the employees, and to some extent the public, which was to be protected from well-recognized abuses. Of any conception of a comprehensive transportation program, such as has been worked out in Germany and in a smaller way in Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, and Australia, there has been no suggestion whatever. For months Congress has concerned itself with the adjustment of private conflicts. The needs of the country as a whole have received scant consideration.

America needs a scientifically worked out transportation program. This is as crying as was the need of a banking act. Yet the opportunity has been passed by, and we are going back to the conflict of groups and interests, the lack of any engineering proposals, as well as the extravagance and the political abuses that have prevailed for forty years. That is the net result of the knowledge that has been gained by two years of Government operation and the experience of other countries of the world.

To take only a few examples. The productive output of the United States is far below its possibilities. Mine operators, manufacturers, shippers, farmers, fail to produce possibly billions of wealth annually because of our failure to adjust transportation agencies to their needs. Coal output is restricted. Food rots on the ground and at terminals. Shippers have no cars or are discriminated against. No one knows the productive capacity of the country. Yet before legislation was enacted there should have been a study of terminals, routings, water connections, mergers, warehousing, and scores of other problems that are crying for solution, merely to bring potential wealth into existence.

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The same is true of economies. The merger of the railroads made freight and passenger cars and motive power at home on any line. They could be sent where needed. There was no necessity of transporting empties from the corners of the nation to their home roads. Mr. McAdoo stated in one of his reports that the merger of lines had added the equivalent of 300,000 cars and about $900,000,000 to railroad assets. Other colossal economies have been made by the joinder of terminals, roundhouses, and shops. Other countries have only one railroad system. There is about as much use for 200 railroads as there is for a half-dozen water plants in a city. The waste involved in operation is beyond measure. The waste to shippers in needless truckage, in long hauls, in sending shipments round Robin Hood's barn is even greater.

For fifty years Congress has been spending millions on the Great Lakes, on the inland waterways, on harbors. Yet water transportation remains where it was a generation ago. The railroads will not permit these waterways to be used. They refuse rail connections, they shut water traffic out of cities and terminals. They control almost all of the harbor frontage on the Great Lakes and a great part of the frontage on the inland rivers and coast cities. The railroads will not permit water transportation to be developed, despite their own inadequacy to meet our needs and the fact that it costs about one-fifth as much to ship by water as by rail.

Thousands of cities in the country have from one to a half-dozen railroads. Each has its own passenger and freight stations, its own yards, roundhouses, and terminals. Even in a small town the cost of this duplication runs into a small fortune each year. It costs the shippers an equal sum.

Each railroad maintains an army of freight solicitors, of agents, of passenger men, of adjusters, of attorneys, of officials. They compete with each other. They add nothing to the service rendered. The net result is that a great part of the freight is carried uneconomically and over the longest hauls.

Immense sums are spent annually in advertising, in city ticket offices, in printing, in developing competing traffic that does not compete.

Each railroad has to be ready for its peak load. It has to own a complete equipment. Under a merger of the railroads, cars could go where needed. Terminals would be used to capacity, as would cars. Empty trains in search of traffic need not be sent east on one road, passing empty trains going west on another. The needless long hauls, the cross hauls, the empty hauls, cost a colossal sum each year.

Mr. Robert W. Woolley, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, has urged that railroad power be generated from central power stations built at the mouth of the coal mines. Mr. McAdoo suggested that the railroads should be hydro-electrically equipped. Both plans are perfectly feasible. Switzerland, Norway, Bavaria, and France have used or are planning to use the latter. "White coal" would eliminate dirt. The public would ride in clean cars. Industry would be provided with cheap power. Cities and country districts could be brilliantly lighted. The Province of Ontario has sent the current from Niagara all over the Province at a very low cost.

The railroads use possibly $450,000,000 worth of fuel a year. They buy much of this from mines owned by the same men who own the railroads. A great part of the freight earnings comes from the hauling of coal. Therefore, the railroads will not substitute electricity for coal, even though it would cut operating cost, save our coal supply, reduce the needed cars and equipment, save colossal sums in waste haulage, and provide all America with cheap light and fuel. Such a substitution would lower the earnings of these coal mines, and of the railroads as well.

American railroad classifications are the most complicated and wasteful in the world. Their number runs into the millions. An army of men is employed in computing, checking up and making them. Nobody can tell quickly and easily what it is going to cost to ship freight. In Europe the rate classifications are no more complicated than the rate sheet of a gas or water company. Probably three-fourths of the bookkeeping of American railroads could be eliminated under a simple and easily understood rate system. Shippers would then know what they had to pay for freight.

Some weeks ago a hurry call to shippers, business men, and city officials from the southern and western states brought an army of angry men to Washington to save the business they had built up during the last few years. Freight is now being routed through South Atlantic and Gulf ports that formerly went to New York. The president of one of the strong eastern lines had protested to Director General Hines against the rates which the Railroad Administration had given to these southern ports. They had developed shipping lines with South America, with the Orient, with Europe. The whole south was enjoying a new prosperity. Their harbors were filled with vessels. Shipments of goods were going out and coming in through a score of ports with a speed and economy never known before.

The Director General had done the natural thing. He had permitted freight to be routed by the shortest way to as many ports as possible. This reduced the earnings of the roads going into New York. It costs much more to ship through the port of New York than through other ports. Yet the private railway managers were ready to kill southern trade and industry, to disorganize hundreds of business connections, in order to bring freight to New York where the railway interests own the water shipping, the terminals, the warehouses, and other opportunities for profit. The Government played no favorites. It built up the country as a whole. Against this policy the railroad operators were protesting.

Over their protest Congress should have worked out a transportation program based on service to the country. An exhaustive study of national needs and those of the railroads themselves should have been followed by a careful, comparative analysis of the best railroad systems in the world: that of Germany operated for the development of trade and commerce; that of Belgium planned to increase industrial efficiency; that of Switzerland where the electrical equipment and real consideration of employees are important factors; and, finally, those of Australia and Denmark, organized almost entirely for the benefit of the farmers.

Possibly the inability of Congress to work out a real transportation program is due to the railroads' refusing to permit Congress to think in a big-visioned way. Possibly the evil does not inhere in politics; it may be inherent in the policy we have adopted of permitting a public service to be operated as a private business. Certainly we have not gone beyond a makeshift in the present legislation. It may break down financially. It will inevitably break down as a transportation system. The industrial, commercial, and cultural life of the country cannot be permanently left to the conflict of purely private interests, none of which are primarily concerned over the needs of the nation as a whole.

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The Critical Period for the Railroads

By WALKER D. HINES

THE prospects for the success or failure of the Transportation Act of 1920, under which the railroads were returned to their owners, are almost wholly dependent upon the degree of public satisfaction with current results of railroad operation. Too much attention, therefore, cannot be given to three phases of railroad operation which will have an important bearing upon public sentiment. These phases are the service rendered the public, the relations with labor, and the rates charged the public.

The public's paramount interest is in obtaining adequate and satisfactory service. Any scheme of management or regulation which fails to produce this result will be condemned. The first requisite, therefore, of success of the railroad managements under the new Transportation Act is that they shall render satisfactory service, but it is in the highest degree important that the public shall hold in reserve its judgment of that service until a reasonable opportunity can be had for providing the necessary facilities and equipment. War conditions have prevented the normal increase in facilities and equipment. The termination of unified control will also make existing facilities and equipment do less work than before. Therefore, as a practical proposition, it cannot be expected that railroad service will be satisfactory until there can be an opportunity to make substantial additions to facilities and equipment.

In 1915 and 1916 the amount of provision for facilities and equipment was below normal because of the complications created by the European war, including the high prices, the scarcity of labor and material, and the deterioration of railroad credit. During Federal control the expenditures for the improvement of the railroads were unavoidably reduced to a minimum. In 1918 the demand for material and labor in other war activities was such that no railroad improvements could be undertaken except those believed absolutely necessary to help win the war. During 1919 the expenditures had to be kept to a minimum because of the clearly indicated policy of Congress to turn the railroads back to private management just as soon as legislation could be adopted and to keep Government expenditures for railroad improvements down to a minimum pending this transfer.

In such circumstances, with an enormous volume of business being insistently offered for transportation, with a long suspension of the normal increase in facilities and equipment, and with a breaking off, to a considerable extent, of the unified practices prevailing under Federal control, the public must be prepared for an unsatisfactory transportation service. The exercise of patience and good temper in putting up with a service that promises for some time to be less satisfactory than was rendered during Federal control is essential.

The supreme importance of putting and keeping the transportation service on a basis where it can raise the necessary funds for needed facilities and equipment cannot be overemphasized. An expenditure of one billion dollars per year is an exceedingly moderate estimate, on the basis of present prices, of the capital expenditure which must be made upon the railroads of this country to meet satisfactorily the demands for transportation. The man not intimately acquainted with railroad affairs finds it difficult to understand the magnitude and pressing character of the demands for additional capital expenditures. The need for additional equipment is understood with reasonable ease, and that need alone perhaps calls for $600,000,000 or more per year; but in addition there is on nearly all railroads need for great enlargement of terminals, generally in costly localities, modernization of shops and engine houses and construction of additional shops and engine houses, provision of additional main tracks and passing tracks, construction of passenger terminals, the putting in of heavier bridges to admit of the use of heavier power, the reduction of grades and curvature, the installation of safety signals, the elevation of tracks in streets, the elimination of grade crossings.

A considerable amount of the funds necessary for these capital purposes can and ought to be derived from current income. The annual rental for Class 1 railroads, paid by the Government to the railroad corporations during Federal control, was about $900,000,000. It was estimated that after paying fixed charges and dividends, there remained a surplus of about $150,000,000, available for capital expenditures. In addition to this, the charges to operating expenses to create a reserve fund for the depreciation of equipment produce a reserve of over $100,000,000 per year, which may properly be employed in the purchase of equipment. The result is that even on the basis of the annual rental of $900,000,000, about $250,000,000 or more would be available out of income, year by year, for capital purposes. If the new rate basis established by the Transportation Act shall, as is contended by the railroads, be computed on the basis of the book values of the railroad properties, the annual return to the railroads will be more than $200,000,000 in excess of the $900,000,000, so this would make an annual amount available out of income for capital expenditures of approximately $450,000,000, although this will probably be appreciably reduced by the heavy interest charges which must be paid for new money. It will be seen, therefore, that even on this basis, after obtaining for expenditures, for facilities, and equipment probably $400,000,000 or $450,000,000 annually out of surplus income perhaps $600,000,000 per year of new money will have to be raised in order to take care of needed improvements, and in addition to this the companies must raise substantial amounts, perhaps averaging $200,000,000 or more per year, to pay off existing funded debt as it matures from time to time.

With regard to the question of increases in railroad rates, we have another subject concerning which the public needs to show patience and philosophy. It is agreed on all hands that on account of the increased costs, which appear to be still increasing, a substantial increase in rates is necessary.

A considerable part of the public was misled into thinking during the period of Federal control that the increased railroad costs were not due to the new conditions growing out of the war which were affecting correspondingly all other business activities, but were merely due to Federal control of the railroads. The error in this view is strikingly shown by the proposals of the railroad executives for increased rates. The railroad executives represent that, in order to pay the necessary return to the railroad companies and

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the necessary increases in operating costs, railroad rates must be raised so as to produce one billion dollars more revenue every twelve months, without taking into consideration any increases in wages. Yet the excess of the railroad rental and the railroad expenses over the revenues during the entire twenty-six months of federal control was only $900,000,000.

I earnestly urge upon every element of the public the most cordial acquiescence in the conclusion the Interstate Commerce Commission may reach in regard to that matter. That Commission, after deciding what operating expenses are reasonable and proper and what tentative valuation shall be put on the railroad property, will adopt a rate scheme sufficient to produce the return which the Transportation Act contemplates, and while that rate scheme will probably involve substantial increases in rates, it ought to be cheerfully accepted by the public as an indispensable element in properly supporting the transportation system of the country and in giving it the credit which is essential.

The labor situation has, of course, a vital relation to the rendition of service. A brief review of recent history will be serviceable in enabling the public the better to appreciate the point of view of labor. In August, 1919, demands for increased wages, aggregating more than $800,000,000 per year, were being pressed by railroad employees. It was evident that these wage increases, if granted, would be permanent. It was necessary, therefore, to regard them as a peace-time proposition, although asserted during the period of war control of the railroads. I strongly advised that a peace-time tribunal, on which the public would be represented, should be at once created by Congress to deal with this matter, and the President so recommended. Congress, however, was unwilling to deal with this question in advance of the adoption of general railroad legislation and indeed railroad labor itself violently opposed any such tribunal, although it is now clear that much time would have been saved if such a tribunal had been promptly set up. When it became evident that Congress was unwilling to appoint a wage tribunal in advance of general railroad legislation, the President took the position that while it would be proper for the Railroad Administration to readjust inequalities as between different wage schedules, the employees ought to withhold their demands for general increases pending a better opportunity to estimate the trend of the cost of living. He indicated that if the developments as to the cost of living should not take sufficiently definite shape for action by the end of federal control, which it was then expected would be December 31, 1919, he would continue to use his influence to see that justice was done to the railroad employees.

In December, 1919, it became evident that Congress could not complete its legislation in less than two months additional time and therefore federal control was continued until the end of February. It was obvious, however, that in that brief remaining period the Railroad Administration could not possibly undertake general wage increases and thereby forestall the action of the labor machinery to be created by the new legislation. The employees were asked again to withhold their demands until the new machinery could be organized. While both in August, 1919, and in February, 1920, the employees felt greatly disappointed that action on their demands was postponed, they loyally accepted the situation. Every other element of the public applauded the action taken in deferring this matter until it could be dealt with by the new and permanent labor machinery.

When the Transportation Act was approved, a period of thirty days had to elapse to give time for nominations to be sent to the President, in accordance with regulations of the Interstate Commerce Commission, for positions on the labor board. Meanwhile the railroad representatives and the representatives of labor, in response to a request from the President, had begun a conference, as was contemplated by the new act, to bring about an agreement upon wage increases. Before the President had had an opportunity to transmit his appointments of the members of the labor board to the Senate, the representatives of the railroad companies took the position that the amount of wage increases demanded was so great that they were not willing to discuss the merits of them with the representatives of the employees and that the whole matter must be referred to the labor board. Since the Transportation Act directed that an effort be made on the part of the managements and employees to agree, and since the labor board had not even come into existence, the action thus taken in breaking off these negotiations created the most widespread disappointment on the part of railroad employees. I believe this disappointment, coming on top of the long delay in dealing with railroad wages which in turn was the inevitable outgrowth of the inability to get the legislation adopted at an earlier date, contributed very greatly to the state of mind on the part of the employees which made possible the insurgent strikes in various parts of the country.

The public ought clearly to appreciate that this transition from federal control to private control, delayed as it necessarily was by the inability to complete the legislation at an earlier date, coupled with the subsequent breaking off of negotiations with the managements and employees, has subjected the employees to the greatest uncertainty and disappointment, and hence the public should view in a sympathetic spirit any action which the labor board may take to bring about an expeditious decision upon this important problem.

I wish to say here, with the keenest appreciation of the difficulties through which the employees have gone, that I believe it continues to be of the highest importance in their own as well as in the public interest, that they maintain the splendid record of staying on their jobs which the great majority of them established throughout the difficult period of the war, realizing that the delays have been due to the transition to private control, an event itself unavoidably delayed, and that the new system must have time to get started.

The next two years are peculiarly critical. Opportunities for the development of discontent are very great. The increases in rates cannot inspire enthusiasm, and service is bound to be unsatisfactory, especially until a large amount of new equipment can be constructed. Yet both these factors ought to be regarded as necessary incidents of the time in which we live. If the public will philosophically adjust itself to these unfavorable conditions, and this critical period can be gone through without a revulsion of feeling which will prevent a fair trial being given to the Transportation Act, I believe there is a great deal to hope for in that act, although further modifications will probably be found to be necessary.

The one leading respect in which, in my estimation, the

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act falls short of the present necessity is that the act leaves the several hundred railroad companies still free to operate each on its own account. I do not believe there can ever be a successful, permanent development of the theory of private management of our railroads without far-reaching and thorough-going consolidation into a few large systems. While the present act permits voluntary consolidations sanctioned by the commission and requires the commission to work out a program looking toward the consolidation of the railroads into a few large competitive systems I seriously doubt whether substantial results can be accomplished in the absence of further legislative provisions which will either compel consolidations or offer such inducements as will insure their taking place. We cannot turn back or arrest the great currents of human progress. One of these currents is the irresistible movement toward unified transportation which shall actually promote the general public interest.

One of the far-reaching results of the war is that for the first time the Government has become a large owner of railroad investments. It now owns $354,000,000 of equipment trust certificates, and about $490,000,000 of additional railroad debt which will be evidenced by notes or bonds. In addition it appears probable that most of the $300,000,000 appropriation made by the Transportation Act will be loaned to the railroad companies. The prospect, therefore, is that the Government, at an early date, will hold approximately $1,100,000,000 railroad securities. If, in addition, the proposals just made by the railroad executives to Congress should be adopted and $500,000,000 additional be loaned to the railroad companies, the Government's holding of railroad investments would be increased to $1,600,000,000. This is perhaps one-twelfth or more of the total value of the railroads. The development of such a governmental interest has been the inevitable outgrowth of the war conditions and indeed was authorized by the Federal Control Act of March 24, 1918. Its necessity grew out of the impossibility under the unprecedented conditions created by the war of the railroads deriving from private sources the capital necessary to obtain indispensable facilities and equipment. Thus the congressional policy is merely an expression of this fundamental need of the situation which had become apparent even prior to the beginning of federal control. Congress has further confirmed this policy by the funding provisions of the Equipment Trust Act which was passed November 19, 1919, and by the funding provisions of the Transportation Act of 1920, contemplating the funding of the Government's debt due from the railroads which was thus created during federal control. Congress in addition by the Transportation Act made an extension of this policy by providing the additional fund of $300,000,000, most of which the act apparently intended should be loaned to the railroad companies, the Government taking railroad securities in exchange therefor.

In contemplating the future relations of the Government to the railroads it is important to bear in mind that for a long time to come the prospect is that the Government will be the owner of an impressive total of railroad securities, and it is a question whether this total may not increase instead of diminish as the years go by.

Labor and Opposition to the Transportation Act

By A. S. OLMSTED

A SALVO of hard words is the greeting of labor and the organs of liberal opinion to the new Transportation Act. Congress should have adopted labor's solution of the problem, the Plumb plan, it is said. That plan rests on two basic propositions—that the railroads should be purchased by the Government, and that they should be operated as a unified national system, by a tripartite board, representing labor, the managers, and the public. Because both of these propositions are ignored by the Transportation Act, the new law is reactionary. We should adopt the Plumb plan, or if we cannot get that plan immediately (a fact which has been obvious for a long time) at least we should continue federal control for two more years, until we can make another drive for some solution drafted on liberal principles. Thus argued the advocates of the Plumb plan which was rejected by an overwhelming majority of Congress.

Yet this maintenance of the *status quo*, advocated by the Plumb planners as a compromise, would do less to bring about the solution they desire than will the Transportation Act, which they criticize so virulently.

Why was it that the Plumb plan never had a chance of adoption when it was proposed last summer? It will not do to dismiss that inquiry with the easy statement that "we need many new faces in Congress," as Mr. Plumb says. A political realist will want to know just why the majority against the Plumb plan was so great, what were the forces which insured its defeat in 1920, and what change in the position of those forces will be produced by the operation of the new law.

The forces now arrayed against the Plumb plan include all three of the great powers of the railroad world (i.e., outside of labor)—the stockholders, the executives, and the shippers. There is nothing in a protraction of federal control to alter the opposition of these forces to the Plumb plan; there is a great deal which might conceivably change their position in the operation of the regime which has just been adopted.

First there is the opposition of the owners of the railways. They say their property is worth double the figure Mr. Plumb offers to pay. Mr. Plumb says it is worth only half what the owners claim. The exact price to be paid is not, of course, an essential of the Plumb plan, logically considered, but practically speaking, it is. Billions hang in the balance, and the pocket nerve is sensitive. Until there is substantial agreement between buyer and seller as to the price, the initial obstacle to the adoption of the Plumb plan will remain unsurmounted.

Now the Director General of Railroads could operate the railroads indefinitely without knowing how much they are worth. Not so the Interstate Commerce Commission. Under the new Act the Commission has jurisdiction (which the Director General did not have), over the issue of stocks and bonds, and to exercise that jurisdiction it will demand figures of cost and value. It is required (which the Director General was not) to formulate a plan of consolidating

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the carriers into a limited number of systems wherein the cost of operation plus a fair return on the value of the property shall be equal, and it must investigate the value of the roads for that purpose. Finally, and most important, the much-discussed rate-making section (also new in this law) requires the commission to determine the aggregate value of railroad property, and fix rates which shall yield 5½ per cent on that value. The fixing of rates is a matter of pressing urgency, and some sort of a valuation must precede the fixing of rates. Within three weeks of the effective date of the Transportation Act, the commission had entered upon public hearings to get the views of owners, shippers, State commissions, and everyone else concerned, on the mode of arriving at the value of the carriers' property. When the value has been tentatively fixed for the purpose of making rates, attacked and defended by interested parties and modified accordingly, adjusted to meet the needs of financing, and readjusted to serve the purpose of consolidation, it will no longer be possible for reasonable, informed men to be as far apart in their ideas of value as are Mr. Plumb and the railway security holders today. A few years of the new regime will practically eliminate the question of price.

A second power in the railroad world is the management —the engineers and other technical men of the railroad business. Two years of federal control did not convert them to government ownership; it is not likely that two years more would do so. Neither will two years of private ownership, it will be said. No, not if private ownership is successful. But if it fails, as it is so widely predicted, especially by liberals, that it will fail, these men, who are so indispensable to the success of government ownership, may be brought to support as necessary what they refuse to advocate as desirable.

Successful government ownership cannot be decreed by Congress; it must be built by the railroad men. The reason federal control did not accomplish more than it did is that it worked from above; it worked from outside; it brought no organic change. Railroad officials, feeling that federal control was transitory, were loath to make important changes. Their attitude would hardly change under an extension of federal control, recognized at the outset to be only an ad interim measure. But now the unification will proceed from within. The railroad officials themselves, in sympathy with this development rather than aloof from it, and knowing that they build permanently, will work out the basic details. Anyone who has breathed the atmosphere of railroad offices during the last year will realize how important is this change in the human factor.

Paradoxical though it may sound, therefore, the return to control by a hundred private corporations may bring a greater, or at least a more fundamental development toward government ownership than would a continuation of nominal operation as a single system.

The much-attacked rate-making provision of the Transportation Act should be considered in the light of its function of preparing for government ownership. It provides that the Interstate Commerce Commission shall initiate a set of rates sufficient to earn a return of 5½ per cent on the value of railway property as a whole. This is said to show undue solicitude for moneyed interests. "It creates a preferred class of security holders," says Mr. Plumb, "who have a first lien on American prosperity." This may be its immediate effect. But project the scheme into the future. If we do have government ownership, if the railroads are permanently to become a department of the Government, are we going to operate it at a loss, the deficit to be paid by taxation, or on a pay-as-you-go basis? If the latter, won't we have to work out some sort of a budget system? And what is the present scheme but a nation-wide budget system? A budget system cannot be invented overnight. It must grow. The present plan is the first scientific, comprehensive arrangement to put our railroads as a whole on a sound, paying basis. Those who look forward to government ownership should accordingly welcome it.

The third power opposed to the Plumb plan is the shippers. Rightly or wrongly, they feel that labor's interest in the railroads is to secure good wages and to improve living conditions, not to give service or to keep down rates. It results that their opposition to any plan of control by labor which contains no guarantee of good service, or fair rates, is as firm as is the opposition of the owners to any plan of expropriation which does not guarantee them a fair price.

The shippers seek their guarantee of good service and fair rates in the principle of competition. This principle is embodied in the new act in the form of a scheme of consolidation, by which the railways of the country are to be combined into a limited number of systems, of equal strength and such location as to be able effectively to compete with one another. Thus, for example,, all the railroads between New York and Chicago might be grouped around the New York Central and the Pennsylvania. Such gigantic railroad systems, it is urged, might realize most of the economies of a national system of railways, while retaining the stimulus to efficiency, and the protection to the public of competition.

The railroads of Canada are organized today into two such competing transcontinental systems. It may be that the scheme will not work in the United States. If not, the amalgamation of a hundred railroads into eight or a dozen systems is hardly lost effort; it would be more real progress than the assembling of all of the railways into a single loose federation.

But if it is successful, it affords labor an opportunity to rise to power in the railroads without having to overcome the opposition of the shippers. Provided that railroad profits depend upon competitive efficiency, it should make no difference to shippers how the profits are divided, or who sits at the directors' table. The Plumb plan already concedes the principle that a part of the return of the employees should depend upon their collective efficiency, but it is only by combining this principle with that of competition that the shippers can be won over.

There are fair indications, therefore, that the regime inaugurated by the Transportation Act on March 1 will really accelerate the advent of the Plumb plan or some scheme of government ownership, by whittling away the opposition. It is certain that it will prepare the way for it. It accelerates the process of settling the price properly precedent to purchase of the railroads. It lays the foundation of a sound budget system of Government financing and rate-making. It fosters the tendency toward unification, not only permitting mechanical adjustments in the machinery of transportation and interchange, but encouraging the organic growth of a body whose control can later pass naturally and easily to its workers. Can it, therefore, truly be said to be reactionary?

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Vaulting Ambition on the Railroads

By HERBERT B. BROUGHAM

LET the public stand and gaze, with such awe as it may command, at the piling of Pelion upon Ossa in railway financing. The Association of Railway Executives just laid before the Interstate Commerce Commission its case for increasing the expenditures—and consequently, the revenues—of transportation lines for the year beginning September, 1920. Virtually a horizontal increase of 20 per cent over the present charges for carrying freight is asked in order to raise $1,017,000,000 more than rates will yield on this year's calculation. That would enable the roads to pay 6 per cent, as provided (not guaranteed—but of this, more hereafter) in the latest act of Congress dealing with the railroads, on their aggregate "property investment account."

This property investment account is reckoned by the railroads to be $20,617,000,000. They trust that the Interstate Commerce Commission will arrive at that figure in the estimate which the law prescribes as the basis for new rate makings. Why not that figure—or a higher one?

The railroad companies have filed with the Commission their own estimates of the worth of their property. When David Harum engaged in a horse trade he naturally expected the owner of a doubtful mare to place his price upon it. The entire press of the country is now engaged in informing the people that their instrumentality of appraisal at Washington will make no mistake in accepting the railway executives' book accounts as the standard for hoisting higher the charges for transporting their goods.

The papers say nothing, of course, about the fact that the railroads of this country have never in any individual instance paid a debt without thereby incurring a new and larger debt. One might assume the lapse to be fortuitous, but it will occur even to the neophyte that a railroad, by adding to its liabilities, adds to the reasons why the public should be charged more to meet them. Its liabilities are a railroad's assets; new liabilities are new arguments for "soaking" the public. Hence the sacred property investment account. Let us see how this is built up.

Whoever pores over the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission will find in Case No. 4914, for instance, decided July 30, 1915, that the property costs of the Reading Railway "contained items aggregating $38,000,000 which represented operating deficits, bonus stock issued, arbitrary write-ups of railroad accounts, cost of securities which apparently had no value but were charged off as road accounts," and so on.

In the same case the Pennsylvania Railroad was found to have cheerfully included in its book accounts the cost of coal-producing lands on which no income had been realized for years, besides bonus stock. The Lackawanna Railroad had done likewise. The Central Railway of New Jersey had arbitrarily written up its cost of road. So with the Lehigh Valley and the Delaware & Hudson, whose records, by which past falsifications might be checked, had fallen by the wayside and become lost. The statements of several carriers included costs "not devoted to public use," and investments "made by the carriers in unproductive betterments." It was found that the Erie's net operating income "would have to be augmented to the extent of 42.80 per cent in order to make it sufficient to produce 6 per cent return on the property investment claimed." On the property investment account of the Ontario & Western, the Commission found "that $33,000,000 of the $58,000,000 stock which this carrier has outstanding represents the issue of securities in excess of the cost of its property."

In Case No. 9953, relating to proposed rate increases in New England, which was decided April 16, 1918, the Commission confesses that it is "impossible to ascertain within millions" the amount of the New Haven Railroad's assets or its real liabilities. But of $200,000,000 invested in outside properties, yielding a return less than 2 per cent a year, the Commission says, "Manifestly, a large part of this 'investment' must be charged off as loss."

A distinguished member of the Valuation Bureau of the Interstate Commerce Commission, has told me that the above cases are typical, not of a few railroads, but of virtually every railroad in the United States. True, some systems, such as the Pennsylvania, are not in the ordinary sense overcapitalized by from 50 to 100 per cent, as are most railroads. But in the case of the Pennsylvania, and wherever a railroad's book accounts approximate its real physical present value, my skilled informant tells me that this is for reasons amply set forth in the report of the Eastern Advance Rate case. In that case the Commission remarks upon testimony given by the President of the Pennsylvania Railroad, that his company had put into the Pennsylvania lines east of Pittsburgh $262,000,000 from surplus receipts, although "during all that time this company had also paid to the stockholders munificent dividends." The Commission queries: "Now, to whom belongs this $262,000,000, a sum which, according to the statistical reports of the Pensylvania to this Commission for the year ending June 30, 1910, equals nearly two-thirds of the total cost of construction of the 2,123 miles owned by that company?"

We used to be told that railroad companies, which are affected with a public interest in that they are enfranchised to monopolize public highways, are legally entitled to only a reasonable return on their actual investment. The Supreme Court of the United States has said this. Yet here, habitually, are the railroads demanding 6 per cent return either on grossly inflated book accounts or on property paid for with concealed and plainly extortionate surplus returns, piled up after munificent dividends had reasonably repaid the stockholders for their outlays.

Now the twenty-and-a-half-billion property investment account which the railway executives use as their basis of calculation for returns, brought in—fictitious values and all—5.3 per cent of revenue. Daniel Willard in his presentation for the Eastern group of roads on May 5, contended that this account "is the only estimate of aggregate value practically available at this time," just as it was the "only estimate of value available to Congress, when it prescribed the percentage on aggregate value that should be taken as a fair return for the two years beginning March 1, 1920." He forgot market value—an ever available basis. But the 5.3 per cent war-time return on par value seemed insufficient to the railroads. The Esch-Cummins law returned the roads with several new and reassuring provisions. The

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Government had paid them $2,000,000,000 net profits during the twenty-six months' war rental. The financiers felt that they needed a loan of $300,000,000 more as a revolving fund for the next two years. This act extends to them the loan.

Roads which the Federal Government considered not worth taking under wartime control sustained deficits. The thoughtful financiers felt that these deficits should be made good. The new act makes them good at the nation's expense. Moreover, with labor troubles ahead, the private guardians of railway interests obtained in the act a guaranty that assured their profits during the six months subsequent to the relinquishment to them of Federal control, covering, of course, all incidental losses. The loss incurred by the late railroad strike amounts to $125,000,000. Conceivably, here was a fault of management. It makes no difference; the nation stands the loss, not the owners, who are to have, if the rates will yield it, a standard profit against any sort of incompetence during the six-months period. Congressman Kitchin of North Carolina reckoned that the Esch-Cummins law stood the taxpayer in to part with over three-quarters of a billion in the way of extra railroad charges during the next two years. The railroads, on the other hand, get the funding of a debt to the Government of $1,000,000,000—virtually a loan for ten years—and to this the President, in his wise discretion, may add the funding of half a billion more.

That isn't all. Congressman Sherley wrote to Chairman Esch on the 19th of February, last, that, in addition to the moneys appropriated in the law, the comfort of the careful financiers would need further looking after to the tune of $436,000,000, in order to wind up the affairs of Governmental control.

Now atop of all this, the public, which has grown accustomed to pay, is asked to hand over at least one-fifth more above wartime increases in cost of transporting its goods. Nay, the shippers are to pay the one-fifth more, and they will surely exact reduplicated intermediate and final profits upon this in their charges to consumers. Thereby the railroads may market new securities above the twenty-and-a-half billions, real and fictitious, which it has unloaded on the public in the past. Of course, the new charge is necessary, is it not? A railroad system, like other mundane things, waxeth old like a garment. It needs new cars, new extensions, and improvements. The public, paying high for the physical dilapidation of our transportation highways, as well as for much that never entered into them physically, ought to work and to save in order to restore the "faith and credit" of the railways, if not, indeed, to reline the pockets of the market speculators. This the public has been expected to do to the elastic limit of its ability. The railroads, which have used it all up in pyramids, need this accession of faith and credit. If the will of Congress be a criterion, they will get it.

But some things not even Congress can do. It cannot, for example, force the public to pay more than "what the traffic will bear"; pay, that is, at a point above which it would preferably do without the delivery of goods. According to all standards of rate-making, that point is now overpast. Before January 1, 1917, horizontal increases in charges for transportation were unknown. During that year, however, the Interstate Commerce Commission permitted virtually a horizontal increase of 15 per cent. Later, the Director General of Railroads as a war measure pushed them up 25 per cent above that new high level. Theretofore rates had been adjusted by the railway companies on a scale of what the traffic would bear; the war, with its immense increments of manufactures and freight carriage above normal necessities, let loose new purchasing power, which these horizontal increases of rates quickly absorbed. Now, with the war industries a thing of the past, the railways demand as a regular normal charge for transporting the peace-time goods of the nation an increase of 71.8 per cent over the rate level of January 1, 1917. The pre-war rate had been established as that which permitted traffic to be moved at the highest rate of profit; had the rate been higher, profits would have decreased.

Can Congress and the Interstate Commerce Commission make up the railroads' frenzied deficits by charges so steep that they will never be surmounted by the shipping public; that they will, in fact, assure still deeper deficits?

But (here I discern a grin on the crafty countenance of the railway lobbyist) the Esch-Cummins bill guarantees a 6 per cent return on the aggregate value of the roads. Does it, indeed? If rates fail to yield this return, the revenues of the Treasury, fortunately, are not entailed. The new act prescribes—"directs" is the word—that the Interstate Commerce Commission fix rates calculated to yield from 5½ to 6 per cent; but if they do not yield this revenue, the only recourse is to try again by a fresh adjustment of rates. If that, in turn, fails, the Commission may try again, and yet again—that's all. A distinguished jurist informs me that he has scrutinized this act for a scintilla of direction that failure to obtain profits of 6 per cent by means of rate charges permits the companies to delve in the United States Treasury for their gains.

Which recalls that Senator Cummins, joint author of the bill, publicly remarked that the act as finally passed carried with it no guaranty of any percentage of dividends. Readers of the Senator's remark were mystified. But he spoke truly. The Interstate Commerce Commission in its rate-fixing will have to guess at many uncertainties. One of these is the amount of wage increases that is being considered by the newly-created Railway Labor Board. Another uncertainty is the volume of business that the railways will handle next year. That volume will depend largely upon the height to which rate charges are pushed to meet impossible conditions of expenditure. If raised too far, the volume of traffic will shrink to the sheer necessities of the nation. The rate-makers will have added not a stiver to the revenue. But they will have strangled industry.

Strangling industry strangles transportation. If even Congressional enactment fails to bring returns on fictitious investment, and if the attempt to recognize fiction prevents a return upon the sum of investment actually made, then the railroads of the United States face the destruction of their credit and earning power; they must go into bankruptcy. Judge Prouty, chairman of the Valuation Bureau of the Interstate Commerce Commission, at hearings recently held in Washington expressed the doubt whether the roads could continue in any circumstances in private hands. Rather than face universal bankruptcy, they will apply to the Federal Government to take them over. If their "property investment," as they say, amounts to over $20,600,000,000, recent estimates show that the actual market value of all of the bonds, notes, and stocks of the railroads of the United States, as averaged for the three last years does not exceed $12,800,000,000.

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Private Ownership of Public Officials

By ARTHUR GLEASON

WEST VIRGINIA has started in again on the organized killing which every few years breaks loose in the mining districts. On May 19, eleven men were shot to death in the town of Matewan, Mingo County. Seven of them were detectives, three were miners and one was an official. This skirmish is the first in the 1920 war between the coal operators of the State and the United Mine Workers of America. Mingo is one of the counties in the southwest of the State which have been held against organized labor by detectives, armed guards, and deputy sheriffs. With the beginning of May, the miners formed local unions, and brought in 2,000 members. As fast as the miners join the union, the coal companies are evicting them from the company-owned houses. I saw the typewritten notice of the Stone Mountain Coal Company on the window of the company-owned grocery store. It stated that the houses of the miners were owned by the company, and that the miners must leave the premises at once if they join the union. Ezra Frye, the local organizer, acting for the United Mine Workers, had leased land, and was erecting tents for the evicted families. He had ordered 300 tents on the first allotment. Matewan lies on the Tug Fork of the Big Sandy River. It is run politically by the Hatfield clan, who for generations have had a feud with the McCoy clan. The economic struggle is making a new alignment across the old feudist divisions. No stranger is safe just now in these unorganized counties. We had a spy who trailed us from Charleston to Matewan. In the town, we were kept under constant guard.

The Matewan killing is only the faint prelude to the war that will be waged in attempting to unionize Mingo, McDowell, and Logan Counties. The stronghold of the operators' power is not Mingo, but Logan County, and within a few weeks the center of disturbance will shift to Logan.

"I shall not die till Logan County is organized," said Mother Jones to me, and she is 90 years old. "George Washington said 'Join the union,'" she added, "and Logan joins the union before I am 91."

There are 91,000 persons in West Virginia employed in and around mines. Of these, 54,000 are organized in the United Mine Workers of America. For the possession of the unorganized 37,000, the coal operators and the union are engaged in the present bloody struggle. Of these 37,000, 4,000 are in Mingo and 9,000 in Logan.

The fight in Mingo is mild compared with that about to explode in Logan, which is under control of the coal companies. The best description recently written of Logan is that of Governor John Cornwell, on November 7, 1919:

> Logan County is a political unit, self-governed, electing its own officers, who are not responsible to me for their official acts and over whom I have no direct control. Congress can only make public the facts. It has no power to remove a sheriff or convict one who commits an assault. You know that can be done in Logan County only. I shall make public all the evidence.

In fulfilment of that promise, the Governor most courteously turned over to me the full stenographic evidence of the unpublished investigation into Logan County he has been conducting through three officials. Its title is "Special Investigation by the State of West Virginia."

The coal operators maintain on their pay-rolls public officials who preserve order, guard the company funds, and keep union men out of the county. It is this exercise of public power under private pay which is one of the fundamental causes and is the most lively occasion of the bad blood between owners and workers. The operators pay directly to the sheriff $32,700 a year for this immunity from unionization. In addition, most of them pay the individual armed guard a salary. These agents of the company are deputy sheriffs, appointed by the County Court. The insider who operates this system is Don Chafin, county clerk, and running for sheriff. He belongs to the Hatfield clan, is an educated man, in early middle life, with a family. He is lord of Logan, controlling the deputy sheriffs.

C. W. Jones, treasurer of the Guyan Operators' Association (the Logan fields lie along the Guyan Valley), says:

"The operators pay the sheriff of the county $2,725 a month, and the deputies look after their payrolls. If there is a fuss or anything like that, it is reported to the operator and the sheriff."

J. M. Vest, president and general manager of the Rum Creek Collieries Company, states:

> At the present time we contribute a cent a ton to the funds of the Logan Coal Operators' Association for all purposes. Our income is approximately $100,000 a year. And out of that money perhaps $30,000 (exactly, $32,700) is contributed to the sheriff for police protection. And we have contributed largely to the Salvation Army Fund. In Logan County we have twenty-five deputy sheriffs and three constables. We have a population of a little over 60,000, scattered over an area of 400 square miles.

Pat Murphy, one of the deputy sheriffs, summed up the situation in his own style:

> You don't have no idea how this worked. There is one-half a cent off of every ton of coal on Guyan River turned into the Association in Logan, where Don Chafin is boss. He owns and controls this association of deputies. It is turned into him, and he pays his deputies when pay day comes.

Actually, it is one-third of a cent on every ton which the consuming public of America pays to Don Chafin.

Logan County's potential coal is at least twenty million tons a year, but car shortage keeps it down to ten million tons. During the 1919 miners' strike, Logan and McDowell Counties worked at full production and broke the back of the strike. This is one of the reasons why the United Mine Workers are specializing on the district now. If Logan falls, West Virginia is organized.

Don Chafin has drawn heavily on the Chafin family for assistance, and finds it loyally rendered by Con, John and Wayne Chafin. John Chafin, deputy sheriff, says:

"The Amherst Coal Company and the Prockter Coal Company pay me $175 a month. I am on their payroll. If a man is fired, I give him a notice."

Another alert deputy sheriff is Randolph M. Dial, who receives $120 a month from the sheriff and $50 a month from the Logan Mining Company. This private-and-public sheriff system is so thorough that when fifty-one union organizers came in on the Guyan Valley express on October 15, they went out on the same train on the same day. "Don't let your feet touch dirt in Logan County," said the deputies.

"I chartered an engine and two cabooses and forty-eight men," says President Vest (of the Rum Creek Company) in

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telling how he ran these organizers out of Logan. This train trailed the train of the union men, and once came up even with it on a parallel track.

There is only one incorporated town in Logan County, and that is the town of Logan, with a population of 3,500. Unidentified strangers are not wanted in Logan. The train that carries you the three hours from the city of Huntington into Guyan Valley is used by men who make it their business to find out yours. Deputies meet the train, as you pull into Logan—Dow Butcher, Buck White, Squire White, and Pat Murphy. You are sized up. This affectionate interest is directed for one purpose—to detect organizers and to invite them to go home. Commercial travelers, social workers, business and professional men pass in and out. Order is well kept; all the decencies are observed. Logan is a prosperous, busy little city. I stayed over night, received a welcome, and met a group of excellent sincere local folks, nurses, teachers, health experts, coal magnates. They are busy in every good work. They draw the line in this one matter alone: Logan County is not to be unionized. This led to an amusing mistake some time previous to my own visit. Mr. J. L. Heizer told me of it; it was his own experience in Logan. Mr. Heizer is chief clerk of the Department of Mines for the State of West Virginia. He is also Grand Chancellor of the Knights of Pythias for the State. He went to Logan to induct certain brethren. Mr. Heizer said on the train to Mr. Wayne Chafin that he had heard a lot about Don Chafin, and wanted to meet him. In the middle of the night, Mr. Heizer said,

> When I went to the hotel room, two men were standing at the door, and one of them stepped forward and said: "I understand you want to meet Don Chafin?"
>
> I said "Yes."
>
> He said, "By God, you've met him now."
>
> A young man with me, E. R. Dalton of Huntington, tried to pacify Mr. Chafin, who stuck a gun into the stomach of Mr. Dalton and said, "Young man, you get to bed, and get there quick. I can kill both of you in this room."

Mr. Chafin then made a conscientious search of Mr. Heizer from top to toe. Somehow, the word "organizing" had got connected with Mr. Heizer's mission to Logan. Don Chafin was celebrating that particular evening, and failed to get the distinction clear in his mind between a fraternal order and a labor deputation. So, to carry out his firmly-held principles he invited Mr. Heizer out for a midnight ride, and clumped him one on the side of the head. Mr. Heizer returned to the Jefferson Hotel. Mr. Chafin then took over the management of the hotel for a few hours, relieved the clerk from duty and "shot up the place" with his revolver, but without injuring anybody. Since then, it has been explained to Mr. Chafin that Mr. Heizer is not a dangerous character. The Grand Chancellor returns soon for a further ceremony.

Mr. Chafin's control of the district reminded me of the way Timothy D. Sullivan used to rule south of Fourteenth Street in New York. His authority is that of a perfectly-oiled political machine with an abundance of funds, and a set of loyal adherents dependent on him for favors. As one of the colored miners, Luther Millis, puts it:

> Don Chafin says "I want you to go up and get around among them men and find out who is tryin' to organize and report back to me."
>
> Then he told the others "Luther is goin' to come clean."
>
> And Squire White says "If you don't come clean, by God, we will kill you."
>
> Don Chafin says "Dead nigger if you don't."
>
> I says "I come clean, you let me go."

The attitude of the coal operators is best stated by George M. Jones, general manager of the Lundale Coal Company, Three Forks Coal Company, and the Amherst Fuel Company. Mr. Jones has installed admirable housing for his workers, and availed himself of modern improvements in sanitation, health devices, and recreational facilities. He says:

> Our companies have contributed as a salary to the minister about 50 per cent. Our workers are 80 per cent American, 30 per cent black, and 50 per cent white. There have been some I. W. W.'s, Bolshevists, and these men have sown seeds of dissension, and we have picked these men out and discharged them. We have no police protection other than the protection we get through the sheriff's office, and three constables. We have three deputies at our operations—these men we pay ourselves. We pay them something; we don't pay their complete salary. We pay them for the work they do for us—guarding our payrolls from bank to mine's office, holding down speed limit of automobiles, collecting certain rents and accounts, preserving order and peace and the dignity of the community.
>
> The principal point on this whole controversy is the question of the union or non-union in Logan. We oppose the unionization of the Guyan coal field. We are against the union and expect to do everything in our power to prevent its coming into our mines. We have never refused to meet any of our men at any time.

The leaders of the miners for this section of West Virginia—District 17 of the United Mine Workers—are C. F. Keeney and Fred Mooney. They are men in the middle thirties, and have been fighters for their crowded life-time. They are themselves miners, and carried a rifle in the Cabin Creek uprising of 1912. Mr. Keeney says: "If our organizers come back in boxes, neither heaven nor hell will be able to control the miners. Organize Logan County we will, and no one shall stop us."

The miners of West Virginia are over 50,000 of them white American. They come of pioneer stock, and their people have lived in the state for generations. These mountaineers have grown up in the presence of implacable feuds. They are generous, hospitable, but clannish, suspicious of strangers, swift in action. Bred in this climate of warm friendships and enmities to the death, they are now stirred by the industrial fight. All their buried memories of night terror and sudden killings are awakened by the present struggle. They revert to their ancient way of settling trouble, and that is by private hillside and woodland warfare.

Today, wherever I have gone in southwest West Virginia, I find both sides armed. This section of the State is now a powder mine, ripe for blowing up.

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In the Driftway

IS there any significance in the fact that among the names on the all-women ticket that recently defeated the all-men candidates in an election at Jackson, Wyoming, one was Mrs. Crabtree and another was Mrs. Haight?

* * * * *

ONE of the American Federation of Labor organizers arrested for saying that he wanted to test constitutional rights in Duquesne, Pennsylvania, was an Irishman by the name of Riley. After his first night in a cell Riley was asked how he liked a jail bed. "Well," he said, "it was all right, only there wasn't any mattress—only a steel lattice. After half an hour I felt just like a waffle."

* * * * *

MUCH as one may sympathize with the wish of the rector of the University of Paris to relieve students of vexations due to the housing shortage, it is hard to believe that his suggestion to build a new Latin Quarter will be possible, or even tolerable, to the young men—and women—who for so many years have dreamed dreams in the tangled and aged streets that constitute that wonderful region of youth and romance on the *rive gauche*. To begin with, the neighborhood of the Porte d'Orléans, suggested as the site for a new Quartier Latin, is one of the drabbest and least individual in Paris, known to most persons only as a terminal of the Métro. But that is unimportant. The essential point is that a Latin quarter must grow—slowly, joyfully, painfully, absurdly; somehow it must grow. Scarcely can it be fabricated. Tradition, atmosphere, soul—such things attach themselves like moss, inadvertently, imperceptibly; not by design or cultivation. It is true that of late years American artists and art students have established for themselves a virtually new Latin Quarter, centering about the Café du Dôme and the Café de la Rotonde, where the boulevard du Montparnasse is sliced by the new boulevard Raspail. This quarter is not without its charms, and yet—and yet—it is to the real Quartier Latin as Chicago to Paris. All of the real Latin Quarter is old, and some of it—down by the quai Saint-Michel, opposite Notre-Dame—is almost the oldest in Paris; an offshoot of the first settlement on the île de la Cité. Each stone, like the stones of Venice, has its story. You cannot reproduce this overnight about a terminal of the Métro.

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MOST of the Drifter's days in Paris were passed on the street Mister-the-Prince, in a house where no two steps in the stairways were quite the same height and the floors of which would have driven any respectable spirit level to revolt. The view was limited to roofs and chimney pots, but as compensation there was a wealth of courtyard gossip and repartee. And there were always the bells. Those bells of Paris! The Drifter counted it a poor hour when he did not hear at least four or five, and day in and day out, according to wind and weather—and the counter-blast sent up by vendors on the street—he was within the radius of ten or a dozen. There were always the bells of the Sorbonne and the Palais du Luxembourg; off and on those of Saint-Sulpice, the Lycée Saint-Louis, Saint-Etienne-du-Mont, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, the heavy metallic notes of Notre-Dame; and sometimes—the Drifter thought—the deep mellow vibrations of that bell of bells in the tower of Sacré-Coeur way off on the Butte Montmartre. Are there any such bells, Monsieur le Recteur, around the Porte d'Orléans?

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BUT though luke-warm, to say the least, at the project for a new Latin Quarter, the Drifter applauds when Monsieur le Recteur says that the University of Paris "ought to become again what it was in the middle ages—a flaming beacon of incomparable light, which guided its students from the four corners of the earth. Those who have studied in France love France always. And never did we have so much need of being loved." Fear not, Monsieur le Recteur. France is and will be loved while she continues to be what she is and has been—the intellectual dynamo of the world; the source of those currents of broad internationalism, fine tolerance, and splendid catholicity that constitute true learning. And if any of these things are a little dimmed now through the hatreds and prejudices of war, the Drifter feels sure that the mists will pass presently—as will the housing shortage—and the old spirit of the Quartier Latin will return. *This spirit does not depend on good housing*; it does not depend even on a university. When the Drifter lived in the Latin Quarter he estimated that twenty-five per cent of the students never got any nearer the Sorbonne than the Café d'Harcourt, hard by the statue of Auguste Comte. And as for housing, has there not always been a feud between the landlords and La Vie de Bohême? THE DRIFTER

Books

Darkwater

Darkwater. By W. E. B. Du Bois. Harcourt, Brace and Howe.

IT was too much, we suppose, to expect that Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois should produce another book as great as his "Souls of Black Folk." It was given to Harriet Beecher Stowe to write but one "Uncle Tom's Cabin." The "Souls of Black Folk" burns with the passion for justice of a wronged and suffering nature, proud and sensitive, wounded to its depths by the cruel injustice of the color line. Only a genius could have compressed into another volume as much spiritual agony, as poignant an appeal to the conscience of his fellow-citizens. Yet there are essays in Mr. Du Bois's latest volume, "Darkwater," that strike almost as compelling a note. Certainly his Litany at Atlanta, written in that city immediately after the rioting and the massacre of innocents, must take high rank as literature; and with it are other chapters of as genuine beauty as they are of unquestioned power. No other colored American has ever written like this and few white. There is a chapter in "Darkwater" on The Souls of White Folk, apropos of the white race's descent into Avernus on the fields of Europe, which all white folk ought to read. As for Jesus Christ in Texas, it is to be commended to no man or no woman who wishes to dismiss the Negro problem with an easy conscience. In brief, "Darkwater" carries its challenge on every page. America, conceited, self-satisfied, certain of its justice, its virtue, and the impossibility of bettering its form of government, would be abashed, indeed, if Mr. Du Bois's terrible indictment should penetrate deep into its inner consciousness. Some day it will—or there will be atonement in far greater bloodshed and death than goes on today where men draw the line that mocks fra-

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ternity, denies equality, defies democracy, and blasphemes liberty.

Why have Mr. Du Bois's shafts not struck deeper? Why are the withers of the American people so unwrung on the Negro problem? The causes are many; they go to the very roots of our social and our economic order, for the question of the Negro is but one phase of the necessary reconstruction of our society. Great as "The Souls of Black Folk" is, it has had not a tithe of the influence of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." There must be a conjunction of time and public excitement and author to insure such another success as Mrs. Stowe's. Slavery was an evil upon which public attention could be wholly focused. It was *the* fact that dominated all public life for decades. The present slavery is not to be isolated as a clear-cut phenomenon; it has innumerable phases, and none as yet seriously overshadows the whole life and thought of the nation. So the situation calls for a far greater book than an "Uncle Tom's Cabin" to stir similarly a nation beset not by one but by a hundred perplexities. Next, the colored people have yet to find themselves. They are a long way from effective race-consciousness. They are without the modern cohesiveness of the Jew; they lack sorely the power to organize; and their masters place every obstacle in the way. It is becoming daily more apparent that they must find their way out by taking their places with the white masses who struggle in economic bondage.

And as for Dr. Du Bois's power? It is a fact that his own ability to suffer and to feel the wrongs of his race so deeply is at once his strength, the reason for his leadership, and also his chief weakness. For it carries with it a note of bitterness, tinctured with hate, and the teaching of violence which often defeats his own purpose. Doubtless, few of us with sympathies so keen, with nerves so rasped, with wounds as raw, would do better. But still, some suppression of the ego, a lesser self-consciousness, and the omission of personal bitterness at all times would carry Mr. Du Bois and his cause much further. "Our cause," wrote Charles Sumner once, "is nobler than that of our fathers inasmuch as it is more exalted to struggle for the freedom of others than our own." It is a sentiment for Mr. Du Bois to take to heart.

We are not, of course, of those who would criticize Mr. Du Bois for demanding every right and every equality for his people. On the contrary, it is his great merit that he has refused to compromise. Booker T. Washington once said to the writer of this review that he envied him his freedom of speech, his ability to speak out about the wrongs of the Negroes without thought of consequences. He himself, he pointed out, could not do so while his work lay in the South. So Washington's life was essentially one of compromise and opportunism. Mr. Du Bois surrenders to neither; he rightly claims for his people every field of achievement which is anyone else's. Both men have been essential to the race. In the South progress must be slow—step by step—and Tuskegee, like Hampton, marks a great step forward; both are tolerated today largely because they teach trades and manual labor. Had Tuskegee aspired to anything higher it would have been burned to the ground before this. Hence Mr. Washington's leadership was confined to making good farmers, good business men, and good tradesmen. He rightly looked upon the problem of his race as an economic one, but only in the narrowest sense—the winning of good jobs, the buying of a little farm by industry and integrity, the purchasing of the good will of the masters by hard labor and a refusal to aspire to anything celestial. He never clearly visualized the problem as being merely a part of the great struggle of all the masses; he never saw that his battle was but a phase of the greater one, that the chief hope of freedom for his people rests in the freedom of all workers from the thralls that have held them down.

It is even now questionable whether the radicalism of Mr. Du Bois will not soon be made to appear conservative by contrast with the demands of the Negro group which in the *Messenger* and elsewhere has frankly joined the extremists in the labor field. Certainly there are now three parts to the Negro movement, with Mr. Du Bois nearly in the center, even though he has espoused the Socialist cause and does see the necessity of the solidarity and the international cooperation of labor.

Last year Mr. Du Bois took the initiative in calling the first international congress of colored peoples in Paris during the Peace Conference which so utterly ignored their rights. If this becomes a permanent biennial gathering it may prove to be one of Mr. Du Bois's chief claims to the gratitude of his people. He is but fifty; he has years of usefulness before him. If time can but mellow him; if the personal bitterness which so often mars his work can disappear; if a truer Christian spirit than now shines through his writings can guide him; if he desists from his recent dangerous advocacy of meeting force with force, and can bring himself to walk more in the manner of the Nazarene—the possibilities of his further usefulness seem great indeed.

O. G. V.

Saving America First

Is America Worth Saving? By Nicholas Murray Butler. Charles Scribner's Sons.

IT has long been recognized that it is an important function of a college president to act as general adviser to the public on all grave issues of moral moment. He is presumed to be a man of calm, broad, and far-seeing mind, constantly in touch with the best expert knowledge and thought, and able to direct and adjust this thought and knowledge to the general intelligence by means of public addresses such as comprise the contents of this volume in which Dr. Butler gives his latest assurance of "national problems and party policies."

Now there are three related issues of outstanding importance at the present time to all thoughtful men and women in this country: the maintenance of individual liberty, the reconstruction of industry in conformity with the equitable claims of labor and the general welfare, and the part which America is prepared to play in the bettering of international relations.

What light does Dr. Butler throw upon these issues? An active pre-war pacifist, he still professes a firm attachment to the idea of a Society of Nations. But that Society is to be confined to "like-minded and cooperating nations," whatever those qualifications may imply. Moreover, in that Society she is to play a curiously self-regarding part. "The position of America should be that of brother and friend, not that of guardian or attempted ruler. We shall have quite enough to do in minding our own business and in taking care of the interests of our own immense population, *without assuming any part of the duty of minding other peoples' business.*" These words which we italicize would seem to reduce America's part in a League to one of practical impotence. Yet we are told a little later that "It will be the first duty of a Republican administration to press for the establishment of an International Court of Justice, to hear and decide controversies between nations," e.g., between the United States and, say, Japan or Mexico. But this again is obscured by the suggestion (p. 147) that three administrative areas under the League might be created, each with its own Monroe Doctrine: one for Europe, Africa, and the parts of Asia adjoining those continents; one for the Americas; and a third for the Orient. How this could in substance be consistent with the prohibition of "separate alliances or ententes" to which Dr. Butler also commits himself (p. 126), it is difficult to understand. But one thing seems certain: this triple league would establish the separate domination of the great European war allies over the first area, that of the United States over the second, and that of Japan over the Orient. But everywhere the picture of the League of Nations is obscured by hopeless contradictions. And no wonder. For

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Dr. Butler, speaking at the close of 1918, tells us that the Allied Powers are "a League of Nations," and apparently upon this League of victorious Allies, bent on continuing their League for the prime purpose of enforcing the terms of their dictated peace, he is prepared to stake the chances of this great new experiment. Events have already furnished a pretty scathing commentary upon this betrayal of a great ideal. But what, after all, is the use of discussing America's part in this or any other new world order, "if Americans will tolerate no super-government to supplant their own Constitution"; for the existing Constitution is manifestly incompatible with any effective participation of America in a League with administrative powers. The very essence of a real League is to remove from the separate determination of the various nations some points "of their own policies," viz., those concerned with important foreign relations. Yet once again Dr. Butler evidently contemplates with favor the general interference of the League with outside nations which do not conform to a League standard of civilization, and would commit America to participation in such forcible interference (p. 237). It is a hopeless entanglement of proposals based upon an attempt to reconcile orthodox Republican sentiment and policy with some groping after a new world-order.

On questions in industrial conflict Dr. Butler seems well qualified to write leading articles for, shall we say, the New York *Times*, or any of the ordinary journals that inveigh day by day against Bolshevism and the "Red" agitators who are at the bottom of all the trouble in a country whose institutions furnish all the essentials of liberty, opportunity, and prosperity to quiet and industrious persons. It all belongs—this trouble—to a conspiracy of greed, envy, and class hate and is directed to the domination of a relatively small minority of industrial workers, who to gain their selfish ends are planning to overthrow the economic and political government under which the country has thriven in the past. It is at once an attack upon property and liberty. For "property is an essential element of liberty." The "private capital" which is the active form of property is just in origin and beneficent in use. For "upon private capital—which is only another name for private savings—depend the virtues of thrift, of liberality, and of sacrifice."

We wonder whether Dr. Butler would feel so firmly rooted in his social-economic doctrines had he been present at the meetings of the Coal Commission in London last year when common miners questioned the lordly recipients of royalties amounting to yearly sums of a million and more as to the services they rendered to the public in return for such increased incomes. Failing entirely to understand the play of actual economic forces in the production and distribution of income, it is natural that Dr. Butler should conclude that strikes and industrial wars are simply the result of an ignorance of the true and complete harmony of interests between capital and labor. If, therefore, employers and employed could be got into Industrial Courts, their disputes could easily be settled in equitable ways, satisfactory to both parties. We wish this were the case. We wish that smooth words about "reasonable rates," "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work," and the rest of the program of economic rationalism were true, and that a little common sense combined with instruction in the elements of sound political economy could heal our troubles.

Dr. Butler pleads for "Cooperative Individualism into a moral purpose." But we cannot help feeling that he has not got any intelligible grip upon this moral purpose, and therefore shows a feeble hold upon the very principle of individual liberty whose championship he assumes. For throughout this volume of addresses we find no recognition of the series of dangerous assaults upon those liberties of conscience, of speech, and of publication which are the very sap of personal freedom. With one single exception (the outbreak of anti-Negro violence) he has no word of rebuke or warning for the governmental force or the mob-rule which have trampled upon the liberties of minorities which Lord Acton, whom he cites, justly recognized as the test and guaranty of a true democracy.

It is a really hopeless state of mind whose complete futility becomes apparent when confronted with a hard concrete issue, such as the right to strike. Dr. Butler endorses proudly the right of a group of men "to establish cooperation if they will," but quickly adds that "to strike against the people of the United States and ruin social order, against the proper protection of those lives and ruin property, is revolution." But doesn't every strike in any important, not to say essential, industry produce those evils that constitute revolution, and therefore must be put down—how? Beyond the conclusion that "the men and women of the United States will in overwhelming majorities insist that our industrial problem be met and solved on American lines," Dr. Butler does not go in his contribution to the solution of this test problem. He does not explain how he will make men work who are not willing to work, without converting them into slaves" and the state that coerces them into an autocratic socialism.

O. O.

Radicals in Conflict

The Meaning of Socialism. By J. Bruce Glasier, with an introduction by J. A. Hobson. London: National Labour Press.
The Politics of the Proletariat. By Malcolm Quin. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.
Socialism in Thought and Action. By Harry W. Laidler. The Macmillan Company.

THE abstract notion implied in the word socialism has been subjected to so many interpretations (and consequent misinterpretations) that it is quite impossible to present any definition, apart from those glib generalizations intended for purposes of party harmony and propaganda, upon which its advocates would all agree. Mr. Glasier is just to himself and his readers, then, when he announces that there is "and can be no authoritative statement of socialism." This volume expresses Mr. Glasier's understanding of the matter. He may be said to have derived his inspiration from William Morris. That is not a condemnation of the book; it is a definition. Mr. Glasier, however, is badly equipped as an economist and is too impatient for rhetorical flights; he is a sentimental propagandist at home in the enunciation of general definitions rather than in analysis. Mr. Hobson generously explains and justifies Mr. Glasier's lack of scientific inquiry: "He is aware that man is not mainly and never will be a reasoning animal. It is on that account that scientific socialism has so little driving power."

But Mr. Quin in "The Politics of the Proletariat" is nothing if not scientific, and he is no less critical of socialist remedies than he is of capitalist evils. With a charming savoir faire he sets socialism its task, although not himself a professed socialist. Mr. Glasier may believe that the world's salvation lies in the determination of an enlightened majority, but Mr. Quin spurns such doctrine as puerile. He has the libertarian's sneer for the parliamentary majority, and he asks that social science, divorced from the prejudices that so largely determine the policies of mortal man, determine what shall be done. Disciple of Auguste Comte that he is, he manifests the same anti-democratic bias that John Mill noted in the master. Mr. Quin proclaims the bloodless, perfect Social Scientist. He proclaims the end of reform to consist in a perfect citizenship, participating in public life and aiming at the creation of perfect citizens. He denies the existence of an adequate and disinterested public teaching, declaring that "there is, in the region of politics, an unstable and undirected public opinion, controlled more or less by that conflict of classes and material forces which, in one form or another, has been in progress throughout history." He affirms the sacredness of the individual soul and insists on the necessity for defending personal rights, but denies the existence

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of an equality of personality or opportunity. Let Genius govern, he demands. He spurns the Democracy, proclaiming the Republic. Socialism, he declares, "must free itself from the superstition of democracy. The Republic, the city, demands for its service, in industry as in the politics or in the sciences, as much genius, knowledge, and force as it can call forth; and these things cannot be called forth under the abuses of the committee system—inferiority restlessly and suspiciously interfering with superiority."

The theory of the rule of the capable minority, however, is a theory that works in two directions—in the direction of reactionary bureaucracy and in the direction of Mr. Quin's Dictatorship of Sociological Genius. The perfect state cannot come into being until there has been created an enlightened majority, for the coming of which Mr. Quin manifests an understandable impatience. After all, a change directed through the consent of an enlightened majority is more likely to endure than a change based on despotism, no matter how benevolent. Although Mr. Quin is anything but a politician, he might profitably read what Ibsen wrote of politicians in 1870: "They want only their own special revolutions—revolutions in externals, in politics, etc. But all this is mere trifling. What is all important is the revolution of the spirit of man."

As a text book, Mr. Laidler's volume is invaluable. It reveals a ceaseless and remorseless study and reading of the socialist movement in all its manifestations and in all the questions that have aroused controversy. Impartial as a text book, it is yet vivid as a chronicle of events caught almost on the wing. Mr. Laidler reviews the history of the Internationales, the revolutions in Russia and the Central Empires, and the socialistic trend throughout the world. The title of the book epitomizes it splendidly. "I have tried in these pages to express," Mr. Laidler writes in his preface, "the thought of the organized movement and of its acknowledged spokesmen, rather than to record my own point of view. I have also endeavored to avoid abstractions and to connect socialist theory with the concrete life of today." There can be no greater tribute to Mr. Laidler than to record that he has succeeded in this difficult task.

H. S.

The Wasp of St. Paul's

Outspoken Essays. By William Ralph Inge. Longmans, Green and Company.

THERE is a dean who is as witty as Chesterton or Shaw; a theologian who assures us that "the fate of races is decided by the same laws of nature that determine the distribution of the various plants and animals of the world"; a mystic who advocates eugenics; a Neoplatonist immersed in the study of sociology; and a Christian gentleman with a tongue like the sting of a wasp. But the chief paradox of all is that a scholar whose culture is as broad as the world should have sympathies even narrower than his native island. The fact that his genius is polished to the highest glow, that his learning is cosmopolitan and classic, only throws into higher relief the amazing insularity of his affections. In the contemporary world there is hardly anything he can approve outside of the small class, nation, and church to which he belongs. The British aristocracy "are perhaps the finest people to be found anywhere"; the great British nation—especially when compared with that "provincial, ice-water-drinking gynaecocracy" across the Atlantic—is the hope of mankind; the English church is the best church, and even within that there is but a thin, white line of truth, leading from St. Paul to the Dean of St. Paul's.

But one need not be an English Tory and an Anglican to read with delight—not, perhaps, unmixed with malice—the rapier thrusts with which *ce digne doyen* demolishes everybody else. His thrusts have an instinctive accuracy that remind one of Fabre's account of the wasp infallibly stinging the nerve ganglia of its prey. He does it scientifically, perfectly, and without anger—for the expression "mad as a hornet" is really an instance of the pathetic fallacy.

So, with melancholy zest, this consummate master of the art of lancing the sores on the body politic sets out to show how much is rotten in church and state. The "doctrinaire democrat vaporing about representative government" is told that democracy is the victim of mediocre leaders, taking catchwords for thoughts, conservative, tyrannical, incurably corrupt, and tending to anarchy. Nor is there hope in liberalism, for that philosophy takes as its major premise a fallacious belief in progress. Socialism is worst of all, "a disease of town life," a malaise of the nerves, a wicked plundering of the middle classes by the new "aristocracy of labor," which is criminally selfish (so unlike the aristocrats of leisure!). Capitalism is called the creator of the modern world and the cause of Europe's dense population; the laboring classes in destroying it will surely cut their own throats. But Dean Inge sees no help for it; the working-man will not listen to his sermons or to any religion except the "corybantic Christianity" of the Salvation Army. Therefore, England will go through a period of revolution during which the population will be diminished and the best people killed off. With strange inconsistency it is said that the new world will be a better one: all the hideous factories gone, leaving a quiet, eighteenth-century countryside for the nurture of an intellectual race.

After politics, religion. The church of England is praised as loving order, seemliness, and good taste, and finding the middle path between the "meretricious gaudiness" of Rome and the "squalid sluttery" of the Dissenting chapels. Not that the true faith can appeal to the lower classes, of course; they cannot be expected to have the historical and philosophical training necessary to understand Christianity and, moreover, their moral standards are all wrong: they prefer mercy to justice and sentimentalism to righteousness; in short, "this people that knoweth not the law is cursed." Roman Catholicism comes in for a scathing indictment as "the worst form of state bolstered up by the worst form of government"; while, on the other hand, the fallacies of the Modernist position are faultlessly exposed. "Church historians are ingenious and unscrupulous, but it is impossible even for them to exhibit church history as the record of the continuous intervention of the Spirit of Christ." Cardinal Newman is denounced for the "refined cruelty" (save the mark!) of his attacks on the church of England, and for holding an illogical position, not intrinsically absurd "but absurd when applied to justify belief in gross superstition." And what is gross superstition? What Dean Inge does not believe. What is faith? What Dean Inge does believe. There is not one argument he uses against the Catholics that the rationalist could not turn against Inge, nor one of his sneers at the Dissenters and secularists that Newman could not have retorted against its author.

The masterpiece of the whole volume is the attack on the "Anglican Catholic" party in the Established Church. In all the controversy that has raged since the Tracts for the Times, there has never been so witty and so merciless a diatribe as that in which the author exposes the pretensions of the Anglican Catholics, who are depicted as being equally unlearned in the Bible and the Fathers, and as reading nothing but "a penny paper that reflects their views"; as pluming themselves on obedience to the "Church" while flaunting their ecclesiastical superiors with studied insolence; and as servile sycophants in the court of King Working-man.

Socrates called himself the gadfly of the state; his successor in this important office has given the public the most bracing treatment imaginable. Few, indeed, will be those who can read this tiny volume without admitting, when they have finished it, that they have been "stung." For Dean Inge's taste in human blood is far more catholic than can be well sampled in a short review.

PRESERVED SMITH

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One Brand of Bolshevism

The Psychology of Bolshevism. By John Spargo. Harper and Brothers.

Russia as an American Problem. By John Spargo. Harper and Brothers.

IS it possible that there is some guile mixed with Mr. Spargo's outspoken hostility to Bolshevism? He has at least been clever enough to take advantage of his newly won standing with the "sane and sober" public and to induce it to swallow, along with an ounce of soothing syrup, a large dose of tonic liberalism, if not of straight socialism. His little book on "The Psychology of Bolshevism" is skilfully baited for the readers who are most in need of its lesson. These will be flattered and entertained by his description of the hysterical intellectuals and hyper-æsthetic women of fashion, all of them cases for the pathologist, who, he says, have been chiefly attracted by the teachings of Bolshevism. Doubtless such readers will be tempted to go on reading, and insensibly they will find themselves in the midst of an exposition of the real causes of Bolshevism. They will learn of certain imperfections inherent in our political system, and of defects in our industrial arrangements which cry for radical change. They will be told that social unrest is in a large measure the natural result of conditions created by the war and needlessly aggravated by an ungenerous enforcement of short-sighted war legislation. They will listen to criticism of the mistakes in the Treaty of Versailles, of mistakes in the policy followed toward Russia, of mistakes at home like the attempt to combat Bolshevism by repression and police terrorism, and in general of the failure of the government to meet the challenge of the new conditions. Finally they will be treated to a program of industrial democracy and economic amelioration which takes advantage of "the element of wisdom in Syndicalism and Bolshevism while avoiding the folly and the peril." No, it is impossible to absolve Mr. Spargo of the charge of insidious propaganda. Let his new friends beware of him.

The thesis in Mr. Spargo's book on "Russia as an American Problem" is that the welfare of the civilized world depends upon the union of a progressive, democratically governed Russia with the civilization of the Occident as against the union of a reactionary, militaristic Russia with the civilization of the Orient. His great fear is that imperialistic Japan and unregenerate Germany will combine to impose economic vassalage on Russia and Siberia, to make another China of that vast reservoir of material and human wealth, and thereby become masters of the habitable globe. The menace of such an event is sufficiently appalling to justify an examination of the arguments and facts which Mr. Spargo in some detail marshals for our consideration. The case against Germany is based on the record of that country before the war. There is no question that the hold which before 1914 Germany had gained on the import and export trade of Russia was in part due to a superior commercial technique, but in part also to an unscrupulous evasion of the rules of fair dealing. The German bureaucracy used its control over its mercantile agencies to corrupt the political life and to weaken the military power of its great neighbor. The feeling that Russia was rapidly becoming "a German colony" was an important factor in making the war popular among all classes in that country. So far Mr. Spargo's argument treads the ground firmly. And he is even more impressive in presenting the case against Japan. In one elaborate chapter Japan's foreign policy is exposed in its dealings with China as more Prussian then Prussianism at its worst. In another, even more fully documented chapter, it is shown that precisely the same forms of unscrupulous aggression, the same dishonorable methods of trade and of official corruption have been employed by Japan since the outbreak of the war to gain control of eastern Siberia. From all the facts which are assembled, it seems quite reasonable to conclude that Japan had determined to annex this territory at the first opportunity. There is nothing in recent history more disheartening than the shifty behavior throughout the war of this people of a great chivalric past which has learned too well the lesson of European imperialism. The demands on China in 1915 and the authenticated secret agreement with Russia in 1916, signed by Sazonov and Motono, for the partition of China, render all too easy a belief in the alleged secret treaty with Germany, said to have been made some time in 1918, by the terms of which Russia and Siberia were divided into "spheres of influence" for the negotiators.

In his citation of this agreement Mr. Spargo's argument reaches its culminating point. It is true that Japan, even after the armistice, continued her underhanded tactics for acquiring an exclusive control over eastern Siberia in disregard of the wishes of her Allies, but the collapse of the German military power seems to have unnerved her, and Mr. Spargo himself notes in his *Postscriptum* a growing moderation in the attitude of the Japanese. As far as Germany is concerned, though her commercial agents are said to be very busy in Russia, no evidence of illegitimate activity is produced. Recent developments in Germany, pointing to the increased influence of the workers, make less and less likely the resumption of the economic policies which marked the rule of the Hohenzollerns. The Bolsheviki themselves are offering all nations an unrestricted opportunity in their markets; those who fail to profit by the opening have none but themselves to blame. When Mr. Spargo declares that even under a reformed Bolshevist régime Germany will become the economic master of Russia, he seems to offer nothing in corroboration of his belief but his prejudice against Bolsheviki and Germans. He is quite right in urging upon Americans the importance of taking a large share in the development of Russia's resources and industries. He does well to describe Russia's wealth and opportunities in colors which will fascinate the cupidity of the commercially enterprising. He does even better to emphasize the more than material benefit that may accrue from our sympathetic participation in Russia's affairs. The ultimate political advantage for the world of a Russia free from economic vassalage to militaristic neighbors is obvious, but Mr. Spargo's case would be equally strong if he did not magnify the danger of Russia's position; for whatever may be the reality of Japan's menace in Siberia, the threat from Germany to European Russia or of a German-Japanese alliance belongs for the present in the realm of imagination.

JACOB ZEITLIN

The Eternal Feminine

Invincible Minnie. By Elisabeth Sanxay Holding. George H. Doran Company.

Sarah and Her Daughter. By Bertha Pearl. Thomas Seltzer.

THE young, the romantic, and the hopelessly innocent will declare Minnie to be incredible and accuse Mrs. Holding of having maligned her sex. Others, a good deal wiser and therefore far more cheerful, will rise up and call her blessed. For she has increased the wisdom of nations and added a chapter to the moral history of mankind. She has provided the defenseless with a vision and a weapon. Hereafter no sentimental or pseudo-scientific guides need offer their services to young men on the thorny road to marriage. Let the young men but read of Minnie. If they avoid her, little is left to fear.

Mrs. Holding writes coldly, warily, ruthlessly. She is beyond any passionate concern in the matter. She has moments of a cosmic tolerance for Minnie. But how Minnie must have made her suffer! It is only when we get to the other shore of suffering that we can see with eyes so penetrating and so passionless. She purposely and frankly taxes the credulity of the ignorant toward the end of her story. But she declares that whether Minnie, in some incarnation one has met, "is actually guilty of such exploits, she is certainly capable of them. Capable of

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everything!" And that is, indeed, the fundamental truth of the matter. For consider Minnie's equipment, her impenetrable armor, and *aes triplex*. She has "no idea of values or proportion," no instinct for "accuracy and method." She permits no facts to penetrate her consciousness which would wound her vanity; the things she has to believe in order to be herself she simply—believes! No deterring or persuasive voice from without ever reaches her, for though she hears, she never listens. Since she is convinced that she is always doing right, it follows—to her mind—that she is "an infallible judge of what is best for everyone on earth," as well as for herself, and that she is totally unacquainted with remorse or regret. And this conviction of infallibility gives her the terrific advantage that no mere man can ever comprehend her moral processes. To her husband, whom she trapped by guile, and to her children she is "blindly devoted, without the least discretion or scruple." Of the moral wounds she inflicts she is, by her very nature, unconscious. Hence she destroys them all. But she has always done "right"; in her shadier transactions she only exercises what she feels to be the "divine license of motherhood." She passes on to a self-righteous old age—leaving a trail of blood and tears behind her. Yes, they are invincible, these Minnies, because "they force us to believe that their blind and ruinous maternal passion—a perverted instinct—is a sacred and a mystic thing, and hold up to us their animal jealousy of one man as 'love.'" And because they always use the phraseology and appeal to the emotional contents of the traditional moral order, they put their victims to a grotesque confusion and extort from them a monstrous pity. Consider well and you can see them, as Mrs. Holding does in her brief but masterly twenty-fifth chapter, under a cosmic aspect—blind charioteers driving the steeds of Wilfulness and Sex.

The subsidiary characters are not inferior to Minnie in truth and vividness—neither the grandmother nor poor Frankie, neither Petersen nor, above all, Lionel Naylor. The episodic Miss Eppendorfer is done with the same resolute certainty of touch. Her cousin, on the other hand—evidently a reminiscence of 1917—is a conventional caricature, a soft and sticky splotch on the thrice-burned enamel and hammered steel of the book's surface. Mrs. Holding's narrative technique is no less her own than her vision of her people. She gives us the morally astonishing situation and then fills in its background in action and passion. Yet this inverted method never conveys an unpleasant sense of retardation. The book is firm and muscular, ripe and complete. No first novel of such intellectual or creative energy has appeared in this country for some time. If it precipitates a purely personal experience, it may remain Mrs. Holding's strongest work. If observation and the creative imagination contributed to it, the author's future work should be, quite soberly speaking, of first-rate importance.

Although in her Americanized self Miss Pearl's heroine seems at times to have called herself Mildred Mendel, her original name was Minnie, too. But she, poor girl, was far from invincible, and, despite all her struggles and aspirations, marries the shockingly wrong man in the end. Far more invincible, indeed, was her mother Sarah, a notable and redoubtable woman, strong in self-righteousness whose portrait is the best thing in a rather amorphous but by no means talentless book. Miss Pearl has a very keen and clear eye for the physical conditions of her people's lives—both in the Ghetto and beyond it—and a genuine gift, despite her blunt and sprawling style, for rendering the atmosphere of bleak and homeless places. She has moments, too, of very wise and humorous and detached insight. It was in one such moment that she wrote the letter which the love-sick Abraham addressed to Minnie. But her grasp upon the moral nature of her characters is insecure, and hence her story has a wavering and aimless air. Minnie stands in the center of things and Minnie is seen with the eye of soft affection and mere self-pity. She is never permitted to deviate into even understanding an impropriety. She is not good, only ignorant; not high-minded, only incompetent; not idealistic, only sentimental. Miss Pearl has seen Elias, a charming and pathetic person, and Sarah, Abraham, and Morris Kaplan in quite another fashion. And these characters constitute the real promise of her book. For this, too, is a first venture, and there is no reason why Miss Pearl should not do admirable work as she grows in self-discipline of both style and feeling, and acquires a cooler spirit and a more tempered surface.

Books in Brief

IF Mr. Thomas Wright, author already of lives of Fitzgerald, Pater, and Sir Richard Burton, and now of "The Life of John Payne" (London: Unwin) were able to turn his back upon accuracy as squarely as he does upon humor and vividness he could be the worst biographer in the world. But by being punctiliously accurate, for the most part, he avoids that distinction. Being judicious is another matter. To Mr. Wright's professional passion for the subject of his labors is added his feeling about the special circumstance that John Payne—whom the "Encyclopædia Britannica" does not even list in the index and but barely mentions in connection with Burton—has been neglected by the public to a degree that almost makes one believe in the conspiracy against his reputation that Payne believed in. The combination is too much for Mr. Wright. He sounds the tocsin and calls the crowd—if we may mix the figure—into the shrine he has set up. Payne, he preaches, was incomparably the greatest English man of letters of the past fifty years, as poet equalled only by Swinburne and as translator equalled by no one. But Mr. Wright is capable of becoming enthusiastic over such a line of verse as

When the banyans were alive with babbling apes;

and Payne's gigantic achievements as linguist and translator Mr. Wright in some way or other contrives to bury beneath his praise and admiration. Like a cautious priest he keeps his god well hidden on all but ceremonial occasions. Consequently, though Payne's bad temper and Toryism and disappointment with his lack of success are elaborately reported, the secrets of his learning and genius are not. Readers of this book must find out for themselves that Payne was a superb scholar and a real master of language; that he had a fierce, uncanny knowledge of literature, ancient and modern, and interests that eagerly circled the globe; that in his shy, proud way he lived a great literary life behind his limited editions of Villon, the "Thousand Nights and One Night," the Arabic Tales, Boccaccio, Bandello, Omar Kheyyam [as Payne insisted on spelling the name], Hafiz, Heine, and all the "Flowers of France"; and that now and then when the fountains opened he had periods of improvisation in verse that were simply astounding. So great a translator—for Payne is of the stripe of Sir Thomas North, Philemon Holland, Urquhart and Motteux, Mickle of the "Lusiad," Jowett, Burton, and Sir Gilbert Murray—deserved of course a faithful biography, but he deserved also a racy one.

IN the foreword to a little book on "The New Spirit in Industry" (Association Press), by F. Ernest Johnson, Herbert N. Shenton writes: "The ethically and religiously minded, whether in the Church or out of it, see the challenge of the situation. For the assistance of these and for the stimulation of others, this volume has been hurriedly assembled in the critical moments of rapid readjustment. It is not a finished treatise or formulated statement. It is a collection of ideas and facts for the purpose of stimulating thought and awakening a sense of responsibility; it aims to call attention to some of the spiritual elements in industrial readjustment; and it presents data and raises questions which will be useful in group discussions to the end of making them more definite and purposive." Mr. Johnson condenses into the limited scope of ninety-five pages a fair attempt to meet the purposes set forth in Mr. Shenton's

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foreword. Six short chapters comprise the whole subject- matter. They are The Labor Situation, Organized Labor and the War, The Political Labor Movement, Democratizing Industry, Syndicalism, and The Ethics of Industry. The chapter on Syndicalism is not logically named or developed, seeing that it includes such miscellaneous topics as The Soviets, Economic Determinism, The I. W. W., National Guilds, and The Plumb Plan. But its conclusion is well put, when the author writes: "The industrial civilized world today presents a varied aspect. There is little place for the doctrinaire and the dogmatist. Movements are being launched with frank recognition on the part of their leaders that they do not know where they are going. It is preëminently an age of social and industrial experimentation. Of all the powerful nations, the United States is doubtless the most conservative as judged by the temper of its working people and by the complexion of its labor movements. Yet it is no time for blind opposition to inevitable tendencies. History shows that tide-stemming is quite the most unprofitable business that can be indulged in. Where we shall go, we cannot say, but it will doubtless be a long way from here." Altogether, this survey issued by the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations indicates an earnest effort to satisfy in simple, condensed terms a demand to know at least the elements of the world's most urgent present problem.

LEISURE, like literature, may be an integral part of living or an escape from life. In its nobler uses it ranks with the right fulfilment of obligations as a means of happiness. Ignobly used, as it too often is in an age more conspicuous for pleasure-seeking than for pleasure-finding, it degenerates into distraction and sheer evasion of opportunity. Viscount Grey of Fallodon in "Recreation" (Houghton Mifflin), an address originally delivered before the Harvard Union, dignifies the joys of leisure by quiet insistence on their value as consolation. The first part of his essay outlines the forms of recreation that have no slight or trivial influence in a well-ordered life—games, especially those that test a man's staying powers rather than his skill merely; sports that call for energy and quick decision; gardening, "if you are fond of it"; and above all reading in poetry, philosophy, and the great books of all time. Such pursuits elevate leisure, but not if they are licentiously indulged in. The best holidays are subject to the rules of ordered liberty; they must be planned beforehand and made precious to the imagination. Accordingly, the second part of Lord Grey's essay shows how leisure may be laid out to advantage. When Colonel Roosevelt planned his tour of Europe after his second presidency, he arranged to visit England in the spring in order that he might hear and learn to identify the songs of English birds. Lord Grey, who happened to share the same taste for bird songs, offered to act as guide, and two years later the Colonel remembered and claimed the fulfilment of his promise. Lord Grey minutely describes their excursion through the valley of the Itchen and the New Forest in terms that every lover of nature and every admirer of Colonel Roosevelt will delight to read. It is testimony not only to Roosevelt's abounding zest for the cheerful hour, but to the astonishing range and accuracy of his information. In depicting the incident Lord Grey allows the Baconian clarity of his earlier pronouncements to take on poetic warmth and color. A saying of his companion's leads him to the height of his great theme: that there is no disparity of antithesis between the duty of life and the joy of life, but that the two are "companions and complements of each other."

"BENJAMIN FRANKLIN and Jonathan Edwards: Selections from their Writings" (Scribners) is the latest addition to the excellent Modern Student's Library. These two great representatives of opposing currents of thought in the eighteenth century, the one of its "predominant commonsense," the other of its "never suppressed mysticism," are juxtaposed and compared in a succinct introduction by Mr. Carl Van Doren in which the short-lived triumph and final tragedy of the upholder of predestination are contrasted with the gradually broadening successes of the printer and essayist, scientist and statesman who was so emphatically one of "the children of this world." Almost exact contemporaries, Franklin and Edwards offer strange points of resemblance in their early years, though even had his life been prolonged to the age which Franklin attained Edwards's character and career would not have appealed strongly to the modern American; for that side of it with which we can feel most sympathy, his interest in science, was long before his death deliberately suppressed in favor of a self-renunciatory devotion to a fierce and no longer tenable theology. The darker aspects of High Calvinism can hardly be realized without reading portions of Edwards's sermons, and of these no excerpts are given in this volume. On the other hand his keenness of observation, in which he rivals Franklin, and his devotion to theoretical science, in which in youth he bid fair to become Franklin's superior, are well illustrated. Austere enough in all conscience, he yet appears in these selections less alien from our common human nature than he does to those who know him chiefly as the author of "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God." "We are descended from Franklin," Mr. Van Doren remarks; and by his side Edwards seems, indeed, remote. The striking differences between these two lives are well shown in the introduction, in which the facts with regard to the character and point of view of these two great protagonists of rival schools of thought are deftly interwoven. Most marked is the contrast between the "dry, cool atmosphere" of Franklin's life while listening dispassionately to Whitefield in Philadelphia and the rapture and enthusiasm with which Edwards was kindling his congregation at Northampton at the same time.

Drama

The Quiet Truth

Plays. Fourth Series. By John Galsworthy. Charles Scribner's Sons.

GOOD manners are commonly associated with a safe disposition; a gentleman with well-creased trousers and a nice taste in cravats is not suspected of a bomb under his coat. Comfortable people shy at the soap-box orator and overlook Bertrand Russell in his study. To be considered dangerous, a dramatist must have about him something of the conventionalized radical. Few things are seen until they have become myths. The public that neither reads Shaw nor understands him has a vague mental image of a flaming beard, a sardonic smile, a Jaeger shirt, and a Fenian meeting. That is the real thing; it would make the very Lusk Committee take notice. But John Galsworthy? There are his well-bred early novels; there is his friendship with Winthrop Ames. He has lectured before the Drama League here in a faultless frock-coat. When he was not lecturing he was reserved to the point of taciturnity. How admirable and how British! Promptly the crowd identifies him with another myth, the gentleman, and trusts and approves him.

If in the privacy of his study he is capable of contemptuous irony (one rather doubts it), his temptation toward it must be strong. The correctness of his demeanor has endeared him to broad and wealthy bosoms. And all the while, in the laboratory of his mind, with instruments of deadly delicacy and serene precision, he has tested the political and moral pretensions of mankind and found them a blunder and a shame. He has seen legal justice to be a cruel farce, romantic love a delusion, rigid marriage an instrument of stupid torture, the crowd's charity an insult, and its windy opinions the weapons of murder and disgrace. But he has neither cried nor striven and rarely condescended to argue. He has used a pair of balances—exquisite, fragile-looking things under a crystal globe—and weighed the

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issues of life. And the result of his weighing is more devastating than the rioting of an army with scarlet flags.

Yet he has never forgotten that he is an artist. He has never, to use his own words, set down directly "those theories in which he himself believes," but has let "the phenomena of life and character" tell their own story and point their own moral. He has not always been able to adhere perfectly to the logic and to the rhythm of life. In "The Fugitive," fine and right as the details are, there are also artifice and, at the end, a touch of violence. But by virtue of the inner control and patience of his mind he has been able to follow the rhythm of life oftener than any other English dramatist, and he has been able to reproduce it more richly by virtue of his supreme sensitiveness to the true quality of human speech. The wit and eloquence of Shaw spring from a different impulse and make for a different goal. Galsworthy's dialogue escapes the caging of the printed page at once. No theater can contort it, no actor vulgarize it with the false graces of his trade. For it is thus that men speak in the eagerness of affairs or under the sting of passion.

Of the new plays the first, "A Bit of Love," is undeniably the weakest. The dramaturgic method uses details both of speech and of character which, sound as they are in themselves, scatter the impression and dilute the concentration of the central action. That action has power in itself, but its conclusion is lame. He who follows Christ is crucified. The curate Strangway refuses either to hold or persecute his wife, who has gone to the man she always really loved. The people of the parish rise up against Strangway as a coward and a pagan. They despise a man who will not fight for what is his own. The vicar's wife has the kindest intentions. But she, too, cannot help reminding him that the Church "is based on a rightful condemnation of wrongdoing." Strangway leaves, praying for strength "to love every living thing." Now it is a well-nigh universal experience that the passions of men will not let them renounce force until they see its pitiful futility. The curate shows no sense of the plain fact that persecuting his wife would neither have brought her back nor healed his wounds, and that dragging her back would only have turned her remorse and compassion into active hate. He renounces with vague emotional gestures. These are to be approved; they are not likely to be imitated. He is, in brief, more saint than man. The representation of him as a miniature St. Francis weakens the human validity of the play.

"The Foundations" is a dramatic picture of the social turmoil of post-war England. Its mood is one of rather desperate gaiety. Things are going to pieces, but it is better to understand and tolerate than to be glum and important. From a little group of consummately-drawn characters there stand out Lord William Dromondy, son of a duke and M. P., and Lemmy, gas-fitter and uncompromising revolutionist. The bad joke is that these two—quite unlike Anthony and Roberts in "Strife"—are not opposed to each other at all. Lord William knows perfectly well that the game is up. He has been through the war and sees that Lemmy's diagnosis and accusation are alike unanswerable. The capitalist state asked labor to defend it and then "soon as ever there was no dynger from outside, stawted to myke it inside wiv an iron 'and." Lord William quite agrees. But he is in a minority among his own class and no rational course of action seems open to him at all. He holds a meeting to relieve the conditions of sweated labor, but he is aware of the fact that such feeble and gentlemanly tinkering no longer counts. The representative of the press sputters the old phrases for the wage paid him by a capitalist paper, but in his heart he echoes the final cry of the indomitable Lemmy: "Dahn wiv the country, dahn wiv everyfing! Begin agyne from the foundytions!" It is the foundations that must be rebuilt.

"The Skin-Game" has a more timeless touch. It takes the tragi-comedy of all human conflict, localizes it narrowly, embodies it with the utmost concreteness, and yet exhausts its whole significance. For the staggering truth concerning all human conflict, whether between groups of men or individuals, is that each contestant is both right and wrong; that each has the

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subjective conviction of being wholly right; that as the conflict grows in length and bitterness each is guilty of deeds that blur his original rightness and bring him closer to the wrongness against which he fights; that hence to be victorious in any conflict is to add your adversary's unrighteousness to your own and to be defeated is to gain the only chance of saving your soul. "Who touches pitch shall be defiled" is the motto of "The Skin-Game." The pitch that defiled the Hillcrists and the Hornblowers was not in either of them but in the conflict that arose between them. Galsworthy has never derived a dramatic action from deeper sources in the nature of man; he has never put forth a more far-reaching idea nor shown it more adequately in terms of flesh and blood—the gentle Hillcrist who has an intermittent vision of the truth, the too sturdy Hornblower who has none, the clear-eyed, arrowy Jill, the confused and passionate victim Chloe. There are far greater plays in the modern drama—greater in emotional power and imaginative splendor. There is none that illustrates more exactly or searchingly the inner nature, stripped of the accretions of myth and tradition, of the tragic process itself.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Music

The Society of American Singers

THE closing week of the remarkably long run of "Ruddigore" serves to emphasize the fact that the Society of American Singers, which began its first season so successfully with opera comique has ended its third season equally successfully with comic opera. The transition to Gilbert and Sullivan, however, cannot be said to have necessitated any lowering of standards, as the works of these two embody the comic spirit of their age and nationality as surely as Pergolesi's, Mozart's, and Offenbach's did of theirs. There are the same immortal qualities of fine exaggeration and grave absurdity, of delicate satire and mock passion, and, underneath, that basic truth on which all true parody is built. There is no better proof of this last than the fact that when "Ruddigore, or The Witch's Curse" (to give it its full title) was first produced some thirty-three years ago, it was a failure. Being a parody on the blood-curdling and the supernatural, it naturally fell flat on the ears of a generation that was still wallowing in penny dreadfuls and lurid melodrama. It was like holding up a mirror to the public, and expecting it to laugh at the cut of its clothes, forgetting that styles never seem amusing until they go out of fashion. There is no doubt, however, that it is being fully appreciated today, for its success here was paralleled in London, where it was first revived this year. The music of "Ruddigore," as with most of Sullivan's other operas, is delightfully fresh and pretty, the choruses, especially the ghostly one, being exceptionally fine. Sullivan was not a Pergolesi or a Mozart, it is true, but he can in many ways be matched with Offenbach, for he was a gifted melodist, and an excellent musician who wrote most singable music.

One sees the statement from time to time that any clever journalist could write lyrics as good as Gilbert's—to which we can only join in the general reply that perhaps any clever journalist could; only none has done so yet. Nor is Gilbert easy to act. It requires as high a degree of skill and self-control to portray his characters as it does those of Offenbach's, for the slightest evidence that the actor is conscious of his own absurdity will jar like a false note. It is this tendency displayed so frequently in their performances of the Gilbert and Sullivan operas that prevents the members of the Society of American Singers from achieving great distinction. Yet, as one looks back on the season, they have some very good work to their credit, especially that done by William Danforth, Frank Moulan, Herbert Waterous, and Gladys Caldwell. The chorus is excellent, and with a little proper stage directing, would lose its amateurishness. And most important of all, they have, in John McGhie, one of the most experienced light opera conductors in the country. One regrets their occasional excursions into grand opera, for as the Society must give it it ceases to be "grand" and inevitably draws forth unfair comparisons. On the other hand, the Society has often given great pleasure in its revivals of some of the pretty old operettas, such as "Fra Diavolo" and "The Chimes of Normandy." Why not explore further into the repertoire of the old "Bostonians," for instance? It contained many works that could still exercise a charm independent of memories, and that would prove a wholesome antidote to many of the cheap musical comedies that now infest Broadway. Such works, too, would not only provide pleasant entertainment for the public, but would do much to revive the traditions of our early English operetta.

As it is, we have much already for which to be grateful to the Society of American Singers. It has, first of all, lived up to its title, and is able to show a membership list that includes many of our most representative singers. Furthermore, it has given these same singers an opportunity to prove their artistry by reviving such exacting works as Mozart's "L'Impresario," and Pergolesi's "Serva Padrona," at the same time treating the public to exquisite performances of masterpieces no longer heard. And finally, it has consistently tried to give the best in light opera in a tongue native to the public, and at prices within the reach of all. It is for these reasons that the Society of American Singers has been able to fill such a long-felt operatic need.

HENRIETTA STRAUS

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Catholic Bolshevism in Italy

THERE is an extreme Left in the Catholic People's Party in Italy which has attracted much attention because of the similarity of its program with that of the Socialists. A group of the more radical Catholic deputies in March held a congress at Bergamo, which is described by Hans Barth in the *Berliner Tageblatt* of April 2.

The leaders of the Catholic peasants who met at Bergamo, the deputy Miglioli and two leading priests, leaders of the Catholic Labor Office, openly expressed their belief in bolshevism. Their demands, loudly approved by the assembly, were distribution of the land to the peasants, introduction of factory councils and participation of the workers in the profits of industry, socialization of private industry, etc. All this amid cheers for Lenin and for bolshevist Russia, but with express emphasis upon the purpose of attaining these reforms only by bloodless methods and without the use of force, through the ballot, through a disciplined propaganda in the country, and by pressure upon the Government. They made no clear distinction between their program and bolshevism as it is preached by the extreme Left at Montecitorio. The deputy Miglioli, one of the leaders of the *Popolari*, called his colleagues of the party leadership at Rome "weak heads" and designated St. Martin's Day (November 11) as the final date for the coming peasant revolution. When a protest telegram from Don Sturzo (political secretary of the party) arrived, the meeting raised the cry "Down with constitutional clericalism!"

The excitement caused in Italy by the events at Bergamo was great. It is evident that the unity of the *Popolari* is no less in danger than that of the Socialists, and that within it a group is forming, which, except in religion, belongs rather to the extreme wing of the "Reds" than to Don Sturzo's army.

The Church and the Revolution

A LETTER from the Pope to the Bishop of Bergamo, dated March 11, taking a sharp stand against violent industrial conflict, was printed in the *Documentation Catholique* (Paris) for April 3. The same paper states that Don Carminati and Don Garbelli, the directors of the Labor Office at Bergamo, together with some of their associates, have resigned their offices. The Pope's letter reads:

Benedict XV, Pope,
To our Venerable Brother, Louis-Marie, Bishop of Bergamo, Venerable Brother, Greeting and Apostolic Benediction.

We are accustomed to experiencing a particularly sweet joy in noting how our sons at Bergamo distinguish themselves by the exemplary Christian character of their lives. So it was with a lively regret that we heard the sad echo of the violent popular manifestations of which your city has just been the scene. It is true that there is no cause to be astonished that the enemy, exasperated at the spectacle of the marvelous fertility of this field of the Lord, and always on the look-out for favorable opportunities to lay waste to it, should have exploited the present crisis to spread dissension in a harvest so rich and so abundant. The Lord, in confiding to us the care of his mystic field has made it our duty to prevent by all means in our power the growth of this evil seed; if it takes root it threatens to choke the whole harvest.

Venerable Brother, our writing to you does not mean that we have the slightest doubt of your vigilant zeal—these events, on the contrary, have only given you a new opportunity to prove your zeal; but it has seemed good to us through you to exhort our beloved sons to remain firmly devoted to their duty. We are confident that they will respond to this appeal with an eager generosity when our authority reenforces yours in their eyes.

First, we inform each and all that we approve your initiative unreservedly, Venerable Brother; when hostilities were ended, when activities suspended by the war were resumed, the desire to provide for the new needs of the poor led you to establish, through the *giunta diocesana*, a special office of labor for the development of work for the poor. If this institution is directed as is fitting, according to the precepts of religion, it seems to us excellent and full of promise; if not, it is obvious that it may engender in society the worst disorders.

The directors of such an organization, if closely bound to the public good, should have always present in their minds, and should always conform to, the instruction of Christian wisdom in social science, recorded in the immortal encyclical *Rerum Novarum* and in the other epistles of the Apostolic Chair.

It is essential that we should not forget that this life, ephemeral and subject to all evils, cannot assure happiness to us; true happiness, perfect, eternal, will be given to us in heaven as reward for virtue; heaven should be the goal of all our efforts; thus we should seek less to assert our rights than to fulfil our duties; nevertheless it is not forbidden, even here below, in so far as is possible, to better our lot by seeking an easier existence; finally, nothing better assures the general good than agreement and union of all classes, between which there is no firmer bond of union than Christian charity.

They do little good to the worker—let them take note of it—who, saying that they wish to better his conditions of life, aid him only in the conquest of fragile and perishable goods here below, neglect to enlighten him upon his duties in the light of the principle of Christian doctrine, and even go so far as to excite more and more his animosity to the rich, abandoning themselves to bitter and violent speeches such as those by which our adversaries urge the masses to overturn society.

To avoid so serious a danger, Venerable Brother, all your vigilance is needed. Lavish your counsel—as you have already done—upon those who seek to better the condition of the workers directly; tell them to avoid the intemperance of speech which characterizes the socialists and to permeate all their actions with a Christian spirit so that they may help to realize and to propagate so noble a program. If the Christian spirit is lacking, their action is doomed to sterility, and may cause unbelievable evil. We hope that all may be obedient to your instructions; if any dare to be obstinate in his views, withdraw him without hesitation from his charge.

Those whom the divine goodness and liberality has rendered more specially capable should contribute most largely to this task of Christian uplift. First, those whose knowledge gives them a certain superiority should not refuse to help the workers by counsel, by authority, by speech, and especially by the support which they will give to the works which Providence has established to this end. Similarly, those privileged in fortune should adjust their relations with the proletarians, not according to the strict rules of law, but rather by the principle of equity. More than that, we ourselves urge them with all our power to bring to these relations all possible indulgence, breadth of spirit, generosity, and to make all possible concessions and deductions from their rights.

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On the other hand, those who occupy inferior situations in rank and fortune should realize that diversity of social classes is inherent in the order of things, and that it is divine will that we repeat *quoniam pusillum et magnum ipse fecit*—he made the great and the humble—for the greatest benefit of individuals and of society. The humble should be filled with this truth: whatever improvement they may make in their situation by their own efforts or with the aid of people of property, they, like other men, will always have a heavy heritage of suffering. If they have an exact vision of this truth, they will not exhaust themselves in useless efforts to rise above the level of their capacities, and they will bear the inevitable evils with the resignation and courage which gives hope of eternal goods. Consequently we beg and pray our sons of Bergamo, with the respectful love which they have always manifested to the Apostolic Chair, not to let themselves be led astray by the mirage of false promises by which some seek to tear them from the faith of their fathers and enrol them in the service of the violence which seeks to overturn and destroy all. . . .

The priests, and especially the curés, have the duty to achieve a perfect unity of spirit, grouping themselves behind you, Venerable Brother, to bar the way to these fatal enemies of the Catholic faith and of society.

Let no member of the clergy imagine that such an action is foreign to his sacerdotal mission on the pretext that it leads into the economic field; it is sufficient that souls are in peril in that field. We wish the priests to regard it as an obligation to devote themselves as much as possible to social science and the social movement, and to collaborate in every way with those who are exercising a healthy influence for the general good in that field. Furthermore it is their function to enlighten their flocks carefully upon the duties of the Christian life, to arm them against the traps of the Socialists, to help them to better their lot, without losing sight of the spirit which dictated the ardent prayer of the Church: "May we, in passing, use temporal goods so as never to lose eternal goods."

Meanwhile we never cease to invite upon you all the gifts of divine goodness. As a proof of these favors, and in witness of our particular benevolence, we accord to you, Venerable Brother, with a full heart, to your clergy and to your people, the apostolic benediction.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, March 11, 1920, in the sixth year of our pontificate.

BENEDICT XV, *Pope.*

Easter in Moscow

THE following account of how Easter Sunday was observed in Moscow is reprinted from the *Manchester Guardian* for April 15.

Easter was celebrated as usual. The priests, however, decided to disregard the summer, so that midnight fell about half past two in the morning, when the great bell, Ivan Veliki, in the Kremlin and thousands of bells in the churches throughout Moscow began ringing. They have been ringing more or less continuously ever since. The churches sent up rockets, exploded crackers, and burned Bengal lights. The view from the top of a tower on the Kremlin was like a tremendous firework display. There was an allowance of white flour for making the traditional *koulich*.

Work in the commissariats was stopped on Friday at noon except by the chief officials. The only newspaper issued is *Communist Saturdaying*, writen by Communist writers, printed by Communist printers, and distributed by Communists, all entirely voluntary, unpaid labor. The paper contains articles by Lenin, Zinoviev, Bucharin, and others, including Professor Timiriazev, the well-known foreign member of the English Royal Society, all devoted to the question of labor in the socialist state and the need in the present crisis for self-devotion to labor of citizens conscious of the country's crisis, and for compulsion for slackers; all explaining the difference between compulsion and disciplined labor in the capitalist state and the same in the socialist state by saying that in one men were working for employers, and in the latter each man was working for the good of all, including himself.

Today I walked through the town. In the old days Russian girls used to put on white, but there were no white shoes or stockings. On Easter Day it was the general practice to begin wearing new clothes. In these difficult times people are more practical. I noticed only three pairs of white shoes, but an enormous number, both of men and women, wearing new footgear, evidently saved for the holiday. There were so many people wearing new or carefully furbished clothes in the streets that for one day only Moscow was almost like its former self.

Class distinction in clothes had disappeared. Class hostility so far dies with the disappearance of these distinctions that where earlier in the Revolution many bourgeois purposely dressed their worst in order to be proletarians as far as possible, today all need for this is gone. Anybody who has a new coat wears it, and is considered not bourgeois, but merely fortunate. Workmen were wearing their best, girls were wearing embroidered shawls, everybody, including Communists, looking their smartest. Upon the tower of Ivan Veliki in the small hours of the morning a workman at the bellrope, besides commenting on the general celebration, said, "Not even communism prevents Russians from being Russians."

The churches were packed as in the old days, and in the Kremlin itself I met men carefully carrying home their lighted candles, shading the flame with a piece of the *Pravda* or the *Isvestyia*, to light the little lamps before the ikons at home. Communists rejoiced no less than non-Communists. One said to me: "Why not? For we, after all, express in practical economics something of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. If anybody has the right to rejoice we have."

But among Communists attention is mostly concentrated on the question raised by the workman bellringer "Can communism prevent Russians from being Russians in the sense of inducing them to put their shoulders to the wheel and work?" The Communist paper begins with a reference to Easter: "The working class is still living through its Passion-time of bitter struggle and intense work. By work it will win its own Easter, when from the ruins of war and the torment of revolution will arise a new communist society."

Whether that prophecy will be realized depends most certainly on whether Russians are able to make the superhuman effort necessary. And if they fail not only communism but Russia itself will sink into such disaster that no such cheerful, hopeful Easter rejoicings as today's will be possible for anybody.

Mayday in Soviet Russia

THE following proclamation, according to the *Temps (Paris)* of April 17, was issued in Russia on April 14.

To all Provincial Executive Committees,
To all Provincial Labor Committees,
To all Provincial Committees of the Communist Party:

In accordance with the decision of the bureau of the Central All-Russian Executive Committee, the celebration of Mayday will be transformed into a great all-Russian Saturday, arrangements for which should be made immediately:

(1) Create a special committee of members of the Provincial Executive Committee, and similar committees in each commune;

(2) This Saturday should be celebrated by at least six solid hours of collective labor;

(3) In working out the program for the all-Russian Mayday, work should be chosen which has a general usefulness, such as laying the foundations of a bridge, laying out the line of a narrow-gauge railway, building a dike or wall, laying the foun-

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dations of a hospital, of a people's house, of a school, of a communal restaurant, etc., work of a kind which will remain as a memorial of the all-Russian Mayday;

(4) Workers employed on the railroads should be kept at their jobs;

(5) The great masses of the cities and villages should take part in the celebration; instructors equipped with the necessary materials and instruments should be ready, accompanied by organizing forces;

(6) The plan of work should be elaborated carefully, and approved by the local offices for the employment of labor;

These instructions should be considered as a minimum. Severe discipline should be observed in the work. Groups of inspectors, consisting of technicians and skilled laborers, should go about to supervise the utilization of the labor forces; in case of carelessness or negligence on the part of the local soviet authorities, they should make reports and those guilty should be prosecuted. The Commission of Labor will devote particular attention to the participation of the soviet employees in the all-Russian Saturday.

(7) Traveling concerts, choirs, and orchestras should go about playing and singing revolutionary hymns;

(8) The organization of this labor day does not exclude concerts, meetings, and shows in the evening, especially provided for communist propaganda; it is indispensable that this labor propaganda should reach into the open country;

(9) There should be plays for the little children; older children will be employed at light work having a recreative character, such as planting shrubs, laying out gardens, etc.;

(10) The plan of work should be carefully prepared, and an exact report of the work done should be presented to the Central Committee of Labor before May 15. The Provincial Executive Committees whose work is most notable in quantity and quality will be posted.

The President of the Central Committee of Labor,
DZERJINSKI

The South African Deadlock

THE following correspondence between General Smuts, Prime Minister of South Africa, and General Hertzog, the leader of the South African Nationalist Party, is reprinted from the *Cape Times* (Cape Town) for April 8. Up to the present time no coalition of the South African parties has taken place.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
26TH MARCH, 1920

DEAR SMUTS:

As desired by you, I have considered the wish expressed by you during our interview of the day before yesterday, viz.: that the parliamentary members of the Nationalist Party lend their cooperation to the construction of a Government; and have also laid before the Nationalist members of Parliament your proposal in connection therewith in order to ascertain their views thereon.

I may now inform you that the members of the Nationalist Party unanimously agree with the view already expressed by me to you at our interview, that a Government to be constructed out of such different and politically conflicting elements as the South African Party, the Nationalist, the Unionist, and the Labor Party, is undesirable; and they have therefore, by unanimous resolution, declared that they refuse their support to a Government constituted on these lines.

On the other hand, I have been requested by members of the Nationalist Party to inform you, that as far as the idea of cooperation between the Nationalist Party and the South African Party members of Parliament is concerned, such cooperation is not only possible, but that they are also prepared to lend their cooperation on the following basis and under the following conditions, to wit:

(a) That the cooperating members of the House of Assembly reciprocally undertake that during the period of cooperation the policy of the Government shall be of such a nature and tendency as to have first regard to the interests of South Africa, and above all in accordance with the demands of the Union and its people, and that as long as such cooperation continues, no steps shall be taken by the Government nor supported by the cooperating members, whereby a new form is given to any political tie or other relation, by which the existing relation of the Union in respect of Great Britain or any other country or Empire is modified in a manner which prejudices or may prejudice the absolute right of self-determination of the people of the Union.

(b) That the necessary guaranty be obtained whereby it shall be assured that the Government of the cooperating parties shall give effect to the aforementioned conditions of cooperation, and that the person who shall be entrusted with the prime ministership shall be appointed by the majority of the cooperating members of the Assembly of both parties.

(c) That the proposed cooperation be limited to members of the House of Assembly of the South African Party and Nationalist Party, and that it shall continue until either of the cooperating parties in Parliament, after notice, withdraws therefrom.

(d) That as regards the question of secession and the obtaining of the independence of the Union, the members of the Nationalist Party of the House of Assembly—without sacrificing their opinion on this question and with full reservation in all other respects and on all other occasions of their freedom of action—undertake not to take or encourage action in Parliament to secure any alteration of the existing form of government through which such secession is aimed at during the period of cooperation; while on the other hand the members of the South African Party of the House of Assembly—equally without sacrificing their opinion and with full reservation in all other respects and on all other occasions of their freedom of action—undertake during the period of cooperation not to take or encourage any action in Parliament with a view to counteracting the independence movement.

As far as I am concerned, I need hardly say that I am in full accord with the view of the other members of my party as set out above, and as nothing would be dearer to me than the healing of the existing breach amongst the people and the consequent restoration of political party life on a sound basis of common political conviction, which in my view can be the only basis of a sound Government, I wish to express the hope that the basis of cooperation proposed by my party may meet with the approval of yourself and your party.

I have thought it best to send you the proposal in writing in order to give you so much better an opportunity of considering it. Should you after consideration wish any further enlightenment, be it by personal interview or otherwise, it will afford me pleasure to supply the same. I have the honor to be,

Respectfully yours,
J. B. M. HERTZOG

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
CAPE TOWN
30TH MARCH, 1920

DEAR HERTZOG:

I have taken note with deep regret of your letter of the 26th instant, wherein you disapprove of my proposal for cooperation between the parliamentary parties. The more I have considered the matter, the clearer it has become to me that my proposal not only forms a workable, but as far as I can see the only workable basis of cooperation. And I say this keeping in view the counter-proposal contained in your letter. What is the proposal which I laid before you as well as the other party leaders? I regard it worth while to repeat the proposal for your consideration, because your letter disapproves of it without giving any reason and without entering further into the matter.

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My position is this: the public has not at the last election spoken with a clear and decisive voice on our internal politics, and has not given to any of the parliamentary parties a majority. It is, however, necessary in spite of this indecision in the voice of the people that the administration of the country be carried on. How can this be done? In my opinion by forming a temporary interim Government from all the four parties sent to Parliament by the people. Such a Government would conduct the legislation and the administration of the country on broad national lines, more or less on the lines of the program contained in the king's speech. I see no reason why for the carrying out of such a definitely limited program we cannot form a useful and workable Government out of all the parties.

Such a Government is the reasonable and natural consequence of the indecision of the people, but can also in my opinion fulfil a very useful function at the present juncture in our history. It is clear above all else that the people are tired and sick of all our political division, and are feeling a fervid desire and need for political rest, for a cessation of hostilities, even though it be but an armistice, in the political arena. Unconsciously political contention has gone to extremes latterly. Party politics have gone too far, and the people have called us to halt. Let us give the people rest, so that their minds may have a chance of calming down. Let the grass grow over the battlefield, and let the political strife later be resumed in a newer, milder spirit, and range over less dangerous subjects than those over which we in recent days have been so sharply divided. A composite Government such as suggested by me, seems to me the most efficient means to give the people this political rest or armistice. Such a Government will have to abstain from the extreme contentions of the parties, and confine itself to carrying out a broad national program, on which all parties can cooperate with honor. Cooperation of the parties to put through a moderate program will not only create a better and more peaceable spirit in our politics, but will surely also give the people the opportunity of weighing and of reconsidering the situation, and will thus build a golden bridge to the broad national policy of the future.

A non-party Government constituted out of the political parties, would in my humble opinion be a solution of what might more and more become an unhealthy and dangerous political situation in South Africa.

The above, I think, reflects what I have endeavored to convey to you verbally, and what appears more and more clearly to me, as the only solution of the difficulties of the present political situation. Your own counter-proposal or amendment as contained in your letter does not appear to me to be a workable solution. A coalition deliberately confined to the members of the House of Assembly of the Nationalist and South African Parties would not only have the appearance of a generally anti-British combination and of a return to that racial policy which South Africa has outgrown for good and all. That would be deplorable enough. But such a coalition would be quite impracticable on the basis defined by you, i. e., that its scope be confined exclusively to Parliament, and that, therefore, party politics, and especially the question of secession, may be allowed to create a commotion amongst the people as before. Parliament cannot be isolated from the people in this way. The conflict in the country would immediately find its echo in Parliament and make the position of the Coalition Government impossible. We must aim at peace not only in Parliament, but also in the country. That is what the people desire and what your proposal does not take into account. For that reason I do not consider it necessary to go into the particulars of your four conditions. I do not as yet give up hope that you will after further reflection come to consider my proposal as the only practical way out of the present difficult parliamentary situation.

I only wish to add that since our conversation, the Labor Party has refused to agree to my proposal. I wish, therefore, to limit my original proposal to the three remaining parties, who perhaps do not differ so radically on questions of internal policy that they would not be able to cooperate temporarily on an agreed basis in the proposed interim Government.

Yours respectfully,
J. C. SMUTS

CAPE TOWN
MARCH 31, 1920

DEAR SMUTS:

Your letter of the 30th instant, in reply to mine of the 26th idem, has this morning been handed over to me. The contents thereof I have immediately laid before my party for consideration, and I now wish to inform you that we have considered it necessary to stand by our point of view as previously set out.

In your letter you mention that we have refused, without giving reasons, your proposal for the formation of a Coalition Government out of the four parties. In this connection I wish to remark that the reasons which have forced us to our point of view were mentioned in my previous letter, even if this was done somewhat briefly, and that they were also pointed out by me on the occasion of our personal interview. Besides that, they are so obvious that I took it for granted that there no longer existed any doubt about them. In effect they amount to this: that according to our convictions it would be undesirable and impracticable to form a Coalition Government such as you propose unless there could be established between the cooperating parties a great, if not a perfect measure of agreement, at least on the principal questions of practical politics, and that judging by the expressed political convictions, such agreement does not even remotely exist between the Nationalist section of the population and those who adhere to Unionist principles. While we wish to emphasize this point, we wish at the same time to take the opportunity unequivocally to deny that this, our point of view, could with any justification give rise to the suspicion that we follow a policy on racial lines, or that it leads to racial division. We stand for a definite principle and not for any definite race.

We notice further that you consider your proposal as the only workable basis of cooperation. As the Nationalist Party members of Parliament, as already mentioned, cannot accept this basis, we are compelled to infer from this that, according to your opinion, the general and deeply felt desire for the restoration of the unity of our people can, under the circumstances, not be effected. I cannot encourage the hope that my party will yet be persuaded to accept your proposal, and I would therefore suggest that the people be taken into our confidence as soon as possible, and be notified of what has taken place between us, and what the result thereof has been.

Yours respectfully,
J. B. M. HERTZOG

CAPE TOWN
APRIL 3, 1920

DEAR HERTZOG:

In reply to yours of the 31st March, I just wish to say this, that both in my conversation with you and in the correspondence which followed it, I have tried to avoid the controversial side as much as possible, as it is not my object to accentuate differences, but to endeavor to find a basis of agreement and cooperation between parties. I therefore do not wish here and now to mention anything controversial with reference to the contents of your letter, even if I do not agree with them.

You will, however, permit me most decisively to take exception to your statement that it is my opinion that under the circumstances effect cannot be given to the desire of the people for the restoration of unity. I could with equal reason make the same allegation against you, but I do not do this, as I hope that such is not your opinion as little as it is mine. My view is and remains that the desire of the people for reunion is an honest and healthy one, and that everything must be done to give effect thereto. The intention of my proposal for a non-party Government was in the main to secure the necessary political rest and

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quiet in the country, during which, and during which alone, an attempt to establish reunion may succeed. And I felt sure that your proposal would not work in the direction of reunion, for the reason that a cooperation between our parties, which is confined to Parliament, and which would permit the continuance of the party differences among the people outside, would continue to embitter the feelings, aggravate the present position, and would finally make reunion impossible.

My proposal was meant as an intermediate step in order first to obtain rest and peace and so create an atmosphere in which an attempt to establish reunion could be made as a further step. And my proposal had this further advantage, inasmuch as it did not confine cooperation to our two parties, and consequently could not be taken as directed against any other party or section of our South African people.

Although my proposal has for the present miscarried, I do not yet consider the larger question disposed of. I mean to go on with my attempt to remove the existing estrangement and to promote greater unity amongst our entire white population. In these difficult matters more patience and time are necessary. In the meantime I agree with you that this correspondence should be published, as it is advisable to prevent misunderstanding and unfounded rumors amongst the public. I therefore send it to the press.

Yours respectfully,
J. C. SMUTS

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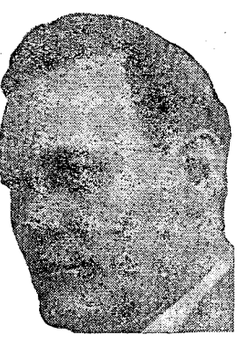

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